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THE BOOK OF CANTICLES.*

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Some Critical Notes on the Hebrew Text of Canticles.

1 (1) אשר לשלמה is a later addition. In the following love-ditties and wedding-songs the relative pronoun is throughout not אשר, but שׁ (cf. Siegfried's *Neuhebr. Gramm.*, § 29, b).

א

3 ┊ ⸤(6) It is unnecessary to read, with Budde and Siegfried, מדן instead of ‮ffi‬ מי ; מי refers to the bride, not to the threshing-board; cf. Tyler in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (JQR) 11, 515.

For ‮ffi‬ כתימרות read בתימרות; so, too, במהלת for ‮ffi‬ כמהלת in 7,1 (ב). תימרה must be derived from a stem אמר 'to be high, to ascend' (cf. אמיר and מוסר for מאסר); cf. kîma quṭri litêlî 'may it go up like smoke;' see Delitzsch, HW 600ᵇ. Assyr. temêru 'to cover with dust' seems to be a denominative verb. *Cf.* our English phrase 'their jackets smoked,' *i. e.*, emitted dust, or 'I will smoke his jacket' = I will dust his jacket, raise dust from it by beating him (German, *ich werde ihm die Jacke ausklopfen*).

מכל, at the beginning of the fourth hemistich, is correct; the preposition מן must not be canceled (against Budde).

(7) For ‮ffi‬ שׁלמׁלׁמׁה read שׁלמׁלך and relegate שׁלמׁה to the margin.

Cheyne's statement (JQR 11, 563) that ‮ffi‬ שֻׁשִּׁים is certainly a corruption of ‮ffi‬ שׁלמׁלׁמׁה is certainly erroneous. I regret to say that I cannot accept any of Cheyne's emendations proposed in his paper *The Song of the Palanquin* (JQR 11, 561–564) and in his other articles in the same volume of JQR. See also EB † 2805.

* For translation and explanatory notes see vol. 18 of this JOURNAL, pp. 193–245.

† For the abbreviations see vol. 18 of this JOURNAL, p. 207, n. *.

3 (8) For 𝔐 בְּלֵילוֹת Cheyne (*l. c.*, p. 562) reads לְבָאוֹת 'lions.' He supposes 'that, far back in the history of the text, the scribe mis-wrote בְּלֵילוֹת, and then corrected this by writing לְבָאוֹת. This latter word, under the hand of a thoughtless scribe, became לבנן, and this, by the ingenuity of an editor, who had both learning and exegetical skill, was converted into אַ[פ]רִיוֹן.' This conjecture, it seems to me, shows learning rather than exegetical skill.

𝔐 אַפִּרְיוֹן is not a dittogram of לבנן but a corruption of φορεῖον. The original vocalization may have been הַפִּרְיוֹן; we must have the article. Cases in which the traditional pronuncia-tion of a later Hebrew word is based on a single corrupt Biblical passage are not exceptional.* הַפִּרְיוֹן is a synonym of מִטָּה v. 7; the following 𝔐 עָשָׂה לוֹ הַמֶּלֶךְ is a relative clause;† lit., the φορεῖον (which) the King made for himself of the wood of Lebanon, its columns he made of silver, &c. *Cf.* Ges.-Kautzsch[27], § 143, c.

For 𝔐 הַמֶּלֶךְ Cheyne proposes to read הַמְּלָאכָה (Solomon made himself this artful work).

(10) The מ prefixed to בְּנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם at the end of the verse in 𝔐 belongs to הָבְנִים 'ebony' which must be substituted for 𝔐 אַהֲבָה, following Grätz, Martineau, Siegfried, Cheyne. We need not prefix ב to הָבְנִים; *cf.* מֶעֶלֶפֶת סַפִּירִים 5,14 (ו, xiii[d]); see Ges.[27], § 117, y.

The clause אַרְגָּמָן תּוֹכוֹ must be transposed to the end of the verse (Budde). Cheyne proposes to read אַלְבְּנִים (*cf.* 2 Chr. 2,7): Its seat—almug-wood in the center, | inlaid with ebony.

(11) For צֶאֱנָה instead of 𝔐 צְאֶנָה see Critical Notes on Ezra-Neh. (SBOT), p. 71, l. 19. In the same way we must read תֶּאֱנָה for 𝔐 תְּאֶנָה 2,18 (י) and בֶּאֵר for 𝔐 בְּאֵר 4,15 (ח).

Gloss ι, בְּנוֹת צִיּוֹן is omitted in 𝔊[P], but not in 𝔊[A].

<center>ב</center>

6 (10) The fourth hemistich, 𝔐 אֲיֻמָּה כַּנִּדְגָּלוֹת must be inserted after the first hemistich. Winckler, AoF 1, 293 (*i. e., Altorientalische Forschungen*, first series, p. 293), proposes to read נֵרְגְּלוֹת (Nergal-Mars). G. Buchanan Gray (JQR 11,97) thinks that the render-ing 'terrible as serried hosts' is at least as powerful a figure as, if a little less picturesque than, 'terrible as an army with flags.' Cheyne (JQR 11,234) considers אֲיֻמָּה כַּנִּדְגָּלוֹת to be an interpo-lation in the present passage. The same suggestion was made

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* *Cf.* Crit. Notes on Ezekiel (SBOT), p. 71, l. 46.

† *Cf.* the relative clauses דּוֹדִי צָפַנְתִּי לָךְ (ז) 1,3; תּוֹרָק (ז) 1,13; בֵּין שָׁדַי יָלִין (ז) 7,14 (מ).

6   by Budde. But the clause is interpolated in 6,4 (ה, ן), not here. For Cheyne's explanation of אימה כנגדלות see note on 6,4 (ה).

7   (1) It is unnecessary to read, with Budde, סֹבִי for ℳ שׁוּבִי; nor does סֹבִי mean 'come near.' Bickell reads שׁׁבִי שׁׁבִי הַשּׁוּלַמֵּת 'Stay, stay, become familiar (do not be shy!).'

    For הַשּׁוּלַמִּית see the Explanatory Notes.

    For חזה ב cf. ראה ב (AoF 1,293).

    For מה תחזו 'won't you look,' i. e., 'ye must all look,' cf. 5,8 (ו) מה תגידו לו 'won't you tell him,' i. e., 'please, do tell him,' and D 343, 1 må ṯhȯddin 'ye must mourn;' cf. Wright-de Goeje³, 2, 311 A (ما تقوم 'pray, stand up'); Caspari-Müller⁵, § 534. Contrast 8,4 (ג, θ) מה תעירו ומה תעוררו 'Don't stir or startle!'

    For ℳ כמחלת read במחלת; see Ges.-Buhl¹³, s. v. מחנים; cf. בתימרות for ℳ כתימרות 3,6 (א).

    מחנים may be an old 'plural of the accusative' like שמים, מים; cf. Crit. Notes on Isaiah (SBOT), p. 157, l. 18, and ZA 2, 267, n. 2. In the same way ערבים is not a dual but an archaic *pluralis extensivus* like צהרים 1,7 (יא). The dual is a secondary differentiation and originally identical with the Assyr. (and Ethiopic) plural in -âni (for -âmi); cf. Haupt, *Sumer. Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 70, below, *ad* p. 18. It is therefore not necessary to read מחנים.

    (2) Bickell cancels מה, following 𝔊ⱽ; but 𝔊ᴬ prefixes τί, and cf. v. 7 and 4,10 (ח).

    For ℳ בת נדיב Bickell reads בת עמי [ה]נדיבה.

    For חמוקי (cf. חמק 5,6) Grätz suggested חשוקי 'ribbons.'

    For ℳ חלאים = חליים see ZA 2, 275, n. 1.

    Ummânu is common in Assyrian; see HW 86ᵇ.

    (8) ℳ את at the beginning of this verse, which Bickell cancels, should be inserted after בתמר in the following verse (gloss β); cf. הבמת זאת in l. 3 of the Moabite stone (Ges.-Kautzsch²⁷, § 126, y) and Siegfried's *Neuhebr. Gramm.*, § 29; also modern Arabic el-bint di (Spitta, § 143, a) for هذ البنت).

    (4) ℳ שׂכי at the beginning of this verse should be prefixed to תאמי צביה in the second hemistich.

    ℳ תאֹמי should be pointed תּאֳמֵי or תּאֲמֵי (cf. 4,5). The original form is tu'âmu (HW 697ᵇ). The form תּאומי, תּאֳמֵי is, therefore, not impossible; cf. Targumic תּיֹומִין (Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, 3,29, n. 1). Contrast note on 3, 11 (א).

    (9) For ℳ סנספין we must point סנסנּין, cf. Assyr. sissinnu, Syr. ܣܡܒܠܐ 'spadix' (not panicle).

    (5) According to Cheyne (JQR 11, 237) ודלת ראשך כארגמן מלך is, to put it briefly, a dittogram of ראשך עליך ככרמל which

7　　precedes. Cheyne proposes to read: דִּלַּת ראשֵׁךְ כְּכַרְמֶל נֶעֱמָה כְּפַרְדֵּס רִמֹּנִים, the pendent locks of thy head are like Carmel; pleasant are they as an orchard of pomegranate trees (cf. 4, 13). 𝔐 רדמים (cf. H, n. 24), he thinks, is a corruption of רמֹּנִים, the ב before רדמים, together with אסוּר, represents פרדס. He 'can see no other solution; if a doubt be possible with regard to the second half of it, no hesitation can be admissible with regard to the first.' I hesitate.

(5) Cheyne (JQR 11, 404), following AoF 1, 293, proposes to read שׂניר instead of 𝔐 המון; he renders:

Thy neck is like the tower of Senir
Which looks toward Damascus.

בת רבים, adds Cheyne, is probably a corruption of בית הכרם = 'Ain Kârim, near St. Mary's Well, a little to the SW of Jerusalem. He translates therefore:

Thine eyes are like Solomon's pools
By the wood of Beth-haccerem,

reading יער for 𝔐 שׁער, following Winckler.

Cheyne thinks, with Rashi and Grätz, that אף means 'face' (פנים).

For 𝔐 בחשבון Winckler (AoF 1, 294) suggested בחלבון (Ezek. 27, 18), but Cheyne (JQR 11, 405) says, we must certainly read שׁלמה, although 'he knows that this is a considerable alteration.'

Winckler, AoF 1, 294 proposed to read:

צוּארך כמגדל השׂניר　　עיניך ברכות בחלבון
על יער בתרבינים

that is, Thy neck is like the tower of Senir, thine eyes like pools in Helbon, at the grove under the terebinths. He adds that if any one considers these emendations too violent he may try to obtain a reasonable meaning in a simpler way. I have availed myself of this generous permission.

(10) For 𝔐 כְּיֵין הטוֹב (Ges.-Kautzsch[27], § 128, w) we may read, with Bickell, כְּיֵין הטוֹב.

𝔐 דוֹבֵב שִׂפְתֵי יְשֵׁנִים is correct. It is not necessary to read שְׂפָתַים וְשִׁנַיִם or שְׂפָתַיו וְשִׁנָּיו, or שְׂפָתַי וְשִׁנַּי. 𝔊 ἱκανούμενος χείλεσίν μου καὶ ὀδοῦσιν 'made fit for my lips and my teeth' and 𝔖 ܘܡܟ؟, did not understand this clause; but 𝔖 דמדיע is better than 𝔊 ἱκανούμενος which is merely a guess. For 𝔍 labiisque et dentibus illius ad ruminandum, see the Explanatory Notes.

(7) For 𝔐 אֲהֲבָה בתענוגים read אֲהֲבָה בת תענוגים; 'A, θύγατερ τρυφῶν, 𝔖 ܡܬܢܝܩ ܦ. Cf. Cheyne, JQR 11, 407.

7 (3) ‭fll‬ שׂררך must be pointed שְׁרֵרֶךְ, from an intransitive form
שָׁרֵר = sirar, syncopated sirr 'mystery, secret parts' (cf. تسر
tasarra and تسرّى 'to keep a concubine,' &c.) and سرى 'to
undress.'

For ‭fll‬ אבן הסהר Cheyne (JQR 11, 404) proposes to read
אבן סגור 'a chalice of pure gold' (cf. Job 28,15).

ג

(11) For ‭fll‬ עלי read אלי; the second, fifth, and eighth forms of
شاق (syn. هاج, هيم, اثار) are construed with الى. It is
not necessary to read, with Nestle and Ball, תשובה (𝔊 καὶ εἰς
ἐμὲ ἡ ἐπιστροφὴ αὐτοῦ) instead of ‭fll‬ תשוקה. If Ball considers
'the reference of this suspicious term to شاق unphilological,'
he may satisfy his philological conscience by pointing the word
תשׂוקה with שׂ = ش. In Assyrian we have šûqu (which may
have a š, = שׂ, ش) as a synonym of xegallu 'abundance,
luxuriousness,' and this may have the meaning of 'libidinous-
ness,' like kuzbu, xiṣbu, baltu, lalû, lullû, &c. (HW 647ᵇ,
824ᵇ, 287ᵇ, 177ᵇ, 877ᵃ; cf. especially KB 6, 126). 𝔊 ἐπιστροφή
and ἀποστροφή (Gen. 3,16) may be euphemistic substitutes.
Contrast Crit. Notes on Genesis (SBOT), p. 48, l. 25.

2 (1) For the striking parallel to this passage in Theocr. 10, 28 see
n. 18 on No. 9 of the Translation.

1 (5) Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*[4] (1895), p. 218, n. 1, proposed to read
שְׁלְמָה = Σαλάμιοι, Σαλμηνοί (Pliny 6, 118, *Salmani*), the neigh-
bors and allies of the Nabateans, instead of ‭fll‬ שלמה, and the
same emendation was suggested by Winckler (AoF 1, 196. 292.
295, n. 1; 2, 552); but it is not necessary to depart from ‭fll‬.

(6) For the pleonastic prolepsis of the pronoun in אל־תראני see
Crit. Notes on Ezra-Neh. (SBOT), p. 71, l. 31; cf. Bertholet (in
Marti) on Neh. 13,23. Bickell's conjecture, תראני, is not good.
The masc. form תראני, although the בנות ירושלם are addressed,
is not exceptional; see also notes on 8,4 (ג) and 5,8 (ו).

2 (15) Winckler (AoF 1, 293) proposes to read יחזו 'they shall see us'
instead of ‭fll‬ אחזו. He thinks the passage refers to a tryst (cf.
No. 11). The little foxes, he says, seem to be not foxes but
weasels or some similar small animals.

It is not necessary to read, with Budde and Siegfried, כרמים
for ‭fll‬ כרמים.

8 (9) For the brief hemistichs ואם דלת היא and אם חומה היא
see Crit. Notes on Proverbs (SBOT), p. 33, l. 49.

Budde is inclined to derive נצור from צרר (cf. 2 S 20,3);
Nöldeke thinks, נצור עליה may mean 'we will nail upon it;'
Siegfried proposes to read בלוה; but this is unnecessary:

8   נָצוּר עָלֶיהָ לוּחַ אֶרֶז means lit., we will fasten upon it (German, *wir wollen darauf befestigen*) boards of cedar wood. מְצוּרָה, &c., means 'fastness' (German, *Feste*).

(10) We must add עַד־הֵנָּה to 𝕸 אֲנִי חוֹמָה, although 𝕲𝕾𝕵 have simply ἐγὼ τεῖχος, اﻧﺎ ﺳﻮﺭ, *ego murus*.

Grätz's emendation עֹז (כְּמִגְדָּלוֹת) for 𝕸 אָז is not good.

For 𝕸 בְּעֵינָיו (𝕲^SA ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ, 𝕵 *coram eo*, 𝕾 ܟܬܢܘܗܝ), referring to the lover, read, with 𝕲^V, ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν, בְּעֵינֵיהֶם, referring to the brothers.

𝕸 מוֹצֵאת is fem. part. Hif. of יָצָא, but it should be pointed מוֹצֵאת (for mauç̣it, mauçi't, mauçi'at); *cf.* note on צֹאנָה 3,11 (א).

(2) For 𝕸 מִבְּיֵן read מִבֵּין; contrast 𝕸 כְּיֵין 7,10 (ב) for כַּיִּין.

𝕸 מִן is correct; *cf.* (ז) 1,2; יִרְוְיֻן מִדֶּשֶׁן נַֽשְׁקֵנִי מִנְּשִׁיקוֹת פִּיךָ בֵּיתֶךָ Ps. 36,9.

For 𝕸 רִמֹּנִי read רִמֹּנִים; *cf.* Crit. Notes on Isaiah (SBOT), p. 83, l. 11; p. 117, l. 36.

7 (13) Gloss η (𝕲 ἐκεῖ δώσω τοὺς μαστούς μου σοί; *cf.* vol. 18, p. 240, n. *) appears in 𝕲 not only after 7,13 (ם, ii) but also after 6,11 (ם, iv).

8 (4) 𝕸 אֶתְכֶם need not be corrected to אֹתָךְ; see my remarks in Crit. Notes on Judges (SBOT), p. 66, l. 29 and Crit. Notes on Ezra-Neh., p. 64, l. 49; *cf.* Siegfried's *Neuhebr. Gramm.* (Berlin, 1884), § 27, a and note on 5,3 (ו).

𝕲 inserts the hemistich ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν καὶ ταῖς ἰσχύσεσιν τοῦ ἀγροῦ = 𝕸 בִּצְבָאוֹת אוֹ בְּאַיְלוֹת הַשָּׂדֶה 2, 7 (ז), not only in the present passage, but also in 5,8 (ו); *cf.* on 2,7 (ז).

מַה־תָּעִירוּ וּמַה־תְּעוֹרְרוּ in מַה is negative (*cf.* Prov. 20,24); contrast note on מַה תֶּחֱזוּ 7,1 (ב).

<center>ד</center>

(11) The addition of הָיָה, which was afterwards supplemented by לִשְׁלֹמֹה (contrast note on 6, 8), was probably suggested by 1 K 21,1 כֶּרֶם הָיָה לְנָבוֹת and כֶּרֶם הָיָה לִידִידִי Is. 5,1.

For 𝕸 בַּעַל הָמוֹן read בַּעַל חַמּוֹן; see n. 3 on No. 4; contrast רֹחַיִם, Qᵉrê רֵחַיִם 1,17 (ז). Grätz proposed to read בַּעַל חֶרְמוֹן. Cheyne (EB 405) thinks that 𝕸 בַּעַל הַבָּיוֹן is merely an incorrect repetition of the name שְׁלֹמֹה.

נָתַן is impersonal; see Crit. Notes of Numbers (SBOT), p. 43, l. 31. We may also read the Nif'al, נִתַּן, or the passive Qal (Ges.²⁷, § 52, e. s; § 53, u) נֻתַּן (Ges.²⁷, § 121, a; *cf.* Num. 32,5; 1 K 2,21),* but it is not necessary.

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* Some of the Nif'al forms נִתְּנוּ, נִתַּנוּ, &c., might just as well be pointed נֻתְּנוּ, נֻתַּן; *cf.* לֻקַּח, impf. יֻקַּח, &c., and vol. 3, p. 39, of this JOURNAL, also JAOS 22. 53.

8   The meter requires the insertion of שֶׁקֶל; it dropped out because it was customary to omit שֶׁקֶל in such phrases (Ges.[27], § 134, n).

6   (8) For ₥ הֵמָּה read, with Budde and Siegfried, לִשְׁלֹמֹה; contrast above, note on 3,11. It is unnecessary to insert, with Bickell, בַּחֲדֵרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ after v. 8. See ADDENDUM, on p. 74.

   (9) After תַּמָּתִי אֲחֹת־דּוֹדָא (the דָּא is enclitic: támmathí axxáth-hi) we must insert מְדוֹרְתָה־דָּא.

    For ₥ לְאִמָּהּ and יְלָדַתָּהּ read מְיַלַּדְתָּהּ and = מֵאִמָּהּ מִפְּעֹרֶיהָ and מְיַלִּדְתָּהּ; cf. רֶחֶם (אִמִּי) מִבֶּטֶן. In post-Biblical Hebrew אֵם is used for womb (cf. German *Mutter* = uterus and רֶחֶם וְרַחֲמָתַיִם לְרֹאשׁ גֶּבֶר Jud. 5,30).[*] The expressions מֵאִמָּהּ and מְיַלַּדְתָּהּ are unparalleled, but this is no argument against the correctness of the emendation. If the phrases had not been unusual, they would not have been misunderstood for more than 2000 years; see my remarks on מֵרֶחֶם מִשְׁחָר, Ps. 110,3, in JHUC, No. 114, p. 110[b], n.[**].

<div align="center">ה</div>

4   (8) 𝔊 δεῦρο = אֱתֵה, imp. of אתה 'to come,' instead of ₥ אִתִּי; so, too, 𝔍, *Veni de Libano*, &c., and 𝔖 حلم مع ملـ.

    תָּשׁוּרִי (𝔊, διελεύσῃ, 𝔖 ححصبین; 𝔍 *coronaberis*) means 'thou mayst descend,' not 'look down;' so Magnus, *Kritische Bearbeitung und Erklärung des Hohen Liedes Salomo's* (Halle, 1842), p. 206; also Winckler, AoF 1, 198; 292, n. 1; 294, n. 2.

    For ₥ מֵרֹאשׁ אֲמָנָה 𝔊 has ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς πίστεως, mistaking the proper name for a common noun, as in 6,4 (ח): 𝔊 ὡς εὐδοκία = ₥ כְּתִרְצָה. אֲמָנָה is not the Amanus, on the borders of Cilicia and Northern Syria, E of the Gulf of Alexandretta. The Orientals are no Alpinists. Contrast Budde, *ad loc.*

    Benzinger (ad 1 Chr. 5,23) thinks that וְהַרְמוֹן was originally an explanatory gloss to שְׂנִיר (with Waw explicative; see Crit. Notes on Ezra-Neh., in SBOT, p. 68, l. 53; p. 70, l. 17). The meter, however, requires a second name. In 1 Chr. 5,23 וּשְׂנִיר may be a subsequent addition to עַד בַּעַל־חֶרְמוֹן, and וְהַר־ חֶרְמוֹן a tertiary gloss to וּשְׂנִיר. According to Wetzstein (ZAT 3, 278) שְׂנִיר is a Šaf'el of נוּר (the mountain of light, *i. e.,* snow); cf. סַנְוֵרִים, a euphemism for blindness.

<div align="center">ו</div>

5   (2) The first double-line of the first stanza has been restored on the basis of 3,1 (יבׂ); דּוֹדִי has been substituted for מַאֲהֲבָה נַפְשִׁי which we find in אׂ and יבׂ. The present poem does not use this phrase.

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[*] See also Delitzsch's *Prolegomena* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 109.

5   The *scriptio plena* יְשֵׁינַה is used to prevent the reading יְשֵׁנָה which may occasionally have been introduced as a joke (I am an old maid, but my heart is alert).

The pointing קוְצוֹתַי of 𝕸 is just as incorrect as the pronunciation מוֹצָאת 8,10 (ב). We must point קֻצּוֹתַי (Ges.[27], § 9, o) or קְצֻוֹתַי; so, too, v. 11. The stem is קצץ (قصّ الشعر) بالمقص), *cf.* صوفه quççôtha, قصّة quççe.

For 𝕸 רְסִיסֵי read רְסִיסֵי = رشّ, pl. رشاش; so, too, שֹׁתָי = شتاء in 2,11 (י) for 𝕸 סְתָו; *cf.* H, n. 61.

(3) The suffix ם in 𝕸 אֲטַנְּפֵם need not be corrected to ן; *cf.* note on 8,4 (ב).

(4) The rhythm requires the insertion of בַּדֶּלֶת after 𝕸 מִן הַחוֹר.

The reading עָלַי (so many MSS and editions) for 𝕸 עָלָיו (𝕲 ἐπ' αὐτόν, 𝕾 ܟܠܗܘܢ, 𝕵 *et venter meus intremuit ad tactum ejus*) is preferable; *cf.* Ps. 42,6. 12; 43,5. Budde and Siegfried prefer עָלָיו.

𝕸 נַפְשִׁי יָצְאָה בְדַבְּרוֹ, which appears in the Received Text between the first and the second double-line of v. 6, must be inserted, with Budde, at the end of v. 4; but Budde's suggestion to add וִימִינוֹ after יָדוֹ at the end of the first hemistich of v. 4 is not good; nor need we insert, with Bickell, נִכְסְפָה לוֹ between 𝕸 נַפְשִׁי and יָצְאָה בְדַבְּרוֹ.

(5) לְדוֹדִי is an erroneous repetition from the end of the first hemistich of the following verse; *cf.* Crit. Notes on Isaiah (SBOT), p. 128, l. 50.

The second hemistich עַל כַּפּוֹת הַמַּנְעוּל stands in 𝕸 at the end of the verse, but it must be inserted, following Budde, after the first hemistich; it is, however, unnecessary to add a verb 'I grasped,' as Budde suggests. Siegfried cancels the hemistich, following Meier.

(7) V. 7 is correctly canceled by Bickell. Budde considers only שֹׁמְרֵי הַחֹמוֹת a subsequent addition, and perhaps also the preceding מֵעָלַי; but מֵעָלַי is indispensable.

According to Winckler (AoF 1, 293) 𝕸 מְצָאֻנִי הַסֹּבְבִים בָּעִיר is a conditional clause (if they find me, they will hit me, &c.).

(8) 𝕲 inserts after the first hemistich, *ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἰσχύσεσιν τοῦ ἀγροῦ*, *cf.* on 8,4 (ב).

For מַה תַּגִּידוּ see on 7,1 (ב); מַה is used here owing to the preceding conditional אם; אִם תִּמְצְאוּ אֶת דּוֹדִי אִם תַּגִּידוּ לוֹ (*cf.* 2,7; contrast 8,4), would be impossible.

For the masculine form תַּגִּידוּ see on 1,6 (ב). It is unnecessary to read, with Bickell and Budde, לְדוֹדִי instead of 𝕸 לוֹ.

(9) For 𝕸 הִשְׁבַּעְתָּנוּ read הִשְׁבַּעְתָּנוּ; contrast note on 8,4 (ב).

(10) For 𝕸 דָּגוּל מֵרְבָבָה *cf.* G. Buchanan Gray's paper on דֶּגֶל in

5   JQR 11, 97, below, and Winckler, AoF 2, 174, n. 1. Cheyne (JQR 11, 233. 236) proposes to read כְּלִיל 'perfect' (in beauty) instead of 𝔐 דְּגוּל.

(11)   Grätz's emendation כֶּתֶר for 𝔐 כֶּתֶם, which is endorsed by Budde, is entirely superfluous. 𝔊ᵛᴬ have χρυσίον καὶ φαζ which was corrupted in 𝔊ˢ to κεφαζ (phonetic spelling); see Lagarde, *Mittheilungen* 2, 81. We must read כֶּתֶם וּפֵז which was pronounced כֶּתֶם אוּפָז; *cf.* Dan. 10,5. In Jer. 10,9 and 1 K 10,18 the prefixed מְ is a later addition. For וּפֵז = אַרְזָ *cf.* אִישׁ = יֵשׁ; see Crit. Notes on Proverbs (SBOT), p. 51, l. 1 and *cf.* BA 1, 260, n. 27 and Addenda on p. 327. ܣ ܐܣܡܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܗܒܐ, ℑ *caput ejus aurum optimum.*

For 𝔐 תַּלְתַּלִּים read דַּלִּיתָיו; *cf.* וְדַלַּת רֹאשֵׁךְ 7,6 (ב) and 𝔊𝔖ℑ: 'curly.' The prefixed קְצוּתָיו (𝔐 קְוֻצּוֹתָיו; see on v. 2) is an explanatory gloss. There may have been a byform דַּלְדַּלִים, but תַּלְתַּלִּים cannot be right. ܣ has ܡܚܡܠܝ ܐܨ̈ܝܐ, 𝔊 βόστρυχοι αὐτοῦ ἐλάται, ℑ *comae ejus sicut elatae palmarum.*

(12)   𝔊 has for this stanza: ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς περιστεραὶ ἐπὶ πληρώματα ὑδάτων, λελουσμέναι ἐν γάλακτι, καθήμεναι ἐπὶ πληρώματα (𝔊ˢᴬ + ὑδάτων); so עַל אֲפִיקֵי מָיִם is translated in the same way as 𝔐 עַל מִלֵּאת. The original text of the second hemistich was probably יֹשְׁבוֹת עַל מִלֵּאת, and עַל אֲפִיקֵי מָיִם may be an explanatory gloss to עַל מִלֵּאת, which afterwards crept into the text. The second and the fourth hemistichs in the Received Text appear to be doublets. The original text of the fourth hemistich may have been עֲרֻבוֹת בְּשֹׁשַׁנִּים (*cf.* 7,3) referring to the eyelashes. ℑ renders, *Oculi ejus sicut columbae super rivulos aquarum, quae lacte sunt lotae, et resident juxta fluenta plenissima,* and ܣ has, ܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܥܠ ܡܦܨܝܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܕܚܠܝܒܝܢ ܡܚܘܪ ܥܠ ܡܦܨܝܐ. It is not impossible that ܡܫܡܠܝܐ 'perfection,' which is meaningless in this connection, is a transposition of ܡܠܘܐܐ = ܡܠܘܐܐ = πλήρωμα; *cf.* the Šaf'el derivative ܫܘܡܠܝܐ 'completion, fulfilment, perfection.' The Šaf'el ušamlî and the Šaf'el of the intensive stem, ušmalli, and its reflexive-passive uštamalli or ultamalli are common in Assyrian (HW 410ᵃ). Mîlu (= millu, mil'u, mila'u; *cf.* xiṭu 'sin' = xiṭṭu, xiṭ'u) means in Assyrian 'abundance of water, high water, flood,' and this word appears in Syriac as מִלְאָא (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*², § 111, n. 2). The original form seems to have been milâ'u, with أُلِف, milê'u; see Haupt, *Assyr. E-vowel,* p. 18. For 𝔐 מִלֵּאת *cf.* Assyr. forms like ximêtu = חֶמְאָה, xiṭêtu = חֲטָאת, &c.

It is not necessary to read, with Bickell, עֵינָיו כְּעֵינֵי יוֹנִים in the first hemistich; *cf.* כְּאָהֳלֵי קֵדָר 1,5 and כְּמוֹצֵאת שָׁלוֹם 8,10 (ב).

5 (18) For 𝔐 כערוגת read כערוגת, following 𝔊 ὡς φιάλαι τοῦ ἀρώ-
ματος φύουσαι μυρεψικά, 𝔍 sicut areolae aromatum consitae a
pigmentariis, 𝔖 simply איך משׁכבא דבסמא, omitting מגדלות
מרקחים. The כ prefixed to כערוגת, which Bickell cancels,
is correct.

    For 𝔐 מגדלות point מְגַדְּלוֹת; so Bäthgen, Öttli, Budde; cf.
the *Beilagen* to Kautzsch's AT (one of the two critical notes on
the text of Cant. in the work, the other one refers to 𝔐 שׂפתי
יְשֵׁנִים 7,10). Siegfried prefers 𝔐.

(14) It is not necessary to read בסּפּירים; cf. Ges.[27], § 121, d.

(15) For 𝔐 בחור (𝔊 ἐκλεκτός, 𝔍 electus, 𝔖 גביא) substitute אדּיר; cf.
Ezek. 17,23. 𝔐 בחוּר seems to be an explanatory gloss which
crept into the text and displaced the original אדּיר; cf. note on
הרחלים 6,6 (ח).

(16) Bickell's insertion כן before בנות ירושלם is impossible.

<div align="center">ז</div>

1 (15) V. 15 is a scribal expansion derived from 4,1 (ח). It is the femi-
nine *pendant* to v. 16 just as 2,2 (ב, β) is the feminine *pendant* to
2,3. Bickell cancels the second הנּך יפה; Budde, the following
עיניך יונים at the end of the verse; it is sufficient to omit the
second יפה; cf. 4,1 (ח).

(16) 𝔐 הנּך at the beginning is indispensable (against Budde), but
we may omit the second אף, following 𝔖. Bickell's emendation
יפים דדיך אף נעמם is superfluous.

    For 𝔐 רעננה cf. my remarks in Crit. Notes on Proverbs
(SBOT), p. 35, l. 16. Budde suggests עגנה or תעגנה; cf. 7,7
(ב). 𝔊 renders σύσκιος, 𝔖 ועפיא (cf. 3,10), 𝔍 *floridus.*

(17) 𝔐 בתּינו is an amplificative plural; see Crit. Notes on Proverbs
(SBOT), p. 34, l. 31. It is not necessary to read, with Budde, the
singular בּיתנו (𝔖 ביתן).

    For 𝔐 רחיטנו read, with the Qᵉrē, רהיטנו (cf. 7,6 = ב, γ),
or, better, וכל רהיטנו. Wetzstein's emendation וחיטנו (Budde,
וחיטיו) is unnecessary; nor need we read, with Budde, רהיטיו;
see H, n. 24.

2 (4) 𝔐 הביאני (𝔍 introduxit me) is correct in the present passage;
but in 1,4 it must be emended to the imperative הֲבִיאֵנִי. 𝔊 has
the imperative εἰσαγάγετέ με (𝔖 אעלני) here, in the second chap-
ter, but not in the first. Grätz suggested הֲבִיאֵנִי.

    For 𝔐 בית היין Cheyne (JQR 11, 234) suggests בית הגּן.

    For דגל see Gray's paper cited in the note on 5,10 (ו). Accord-
ing to Cheyne (JQR 11, 234) v. 4ᵇ 'is surely a corrupt form of

2 v. 5ᶜ; כִּי־חוֹלַת אַהֲבָה אָנִי became distorted into וְדִגְלוֹ עָלַי אַהֲבָה. This is not really bold; it is an every day proceeding, and justified by numerous parallel cases which will at once occur to scholars like Budde.'—I doubt it. Grätz proposed וְגֻבְלוּ for 𝕸 וְדִגְלוֹ; and Bruston, וְדִגְלוֹ (𝕲 τάξατε, 𝕾 ܘܚܒ). 𝕵 ordinavit in me caritatem.

(5) For 𝕸 סַמְּכוּנִי and רַפְּדוּנִי read סַמְּכֵנִי and רַפְּדֵנִי; both verbs refer to the bridegroom.

Bickell's insertion כִּי־חוֹלַת הַגִּידוּ אִמְרוּ לְדוֹדִי before 𝕸 אַהֲבָה אָנִי is unnecessary. The last clause of the verse is a scribal expansion derived from 5,8 (ו). Bickell reads שֶׁחוֹלַת, as in 5,8, for 𝕸 כִּי־חוֹלַת.

(6) Bruston's emendation תְּחַתֵּל 'she envelops' for 𝕸 תַּחַת ל is not good. The parallel passage 8,3 has simply תַּחַת רֹאשִׁי instead of תַּחַת לְרֹאשִׁי. We may read מִתַּחַת לְרֹאשִׁי, but it is not necessary. Bickell thinks that v. 6 should be canceled as a repetition of 8,3; but 8,3 (ב, θ) is a scribal expansion derived from the present passage.

1 (12) We must not point, with Budde and Siegfried, נָתַן instead of 𝕸 נָתַן (𝕲 ἔδωκεν). 𝕵 translates correctly, Dum esset rex in accubitu suo (𝕾 ܒܡܣܡܟܗ), nardus mea dedit odorem suum.

(13) Winckler, KB 5, 298, n. 1, thinks that צְרוֹר הַמֹּר means 'gravel of myrrh,' i. e., granulated myrrh.

The second hemistich, 𝕸 בֵּין שָׁדַי יָלִין, is a relative clause; see on 3,8 (א). 𝕲ⱽ has only ἀπόδεσμος τῆς στακτῆς ἀδελφιδός μου ἐμοί, ἐν ἀμπελῶσιν Ἐνγαδδι, omitting the two intervening hemistichs; but 13ᵇ and 14ᵃ are given in 𝕲ˢᴬᴾ.

(2) For 𝕸 יִשָּׁקֵנִי מִנְּשִׁיקוֹת פִּיהוּ (𝕲ⱽ φιλησάτω με ἀπὸ φιλημάτων στόματος αὐτοῦ, 𝕵 osculetur me osculo oris sui, 𝕾 ܢܢܫܩܢܝ ܡܢ ܢܘܫܩܐ (ܘܦܘܡܗ) read נַשְּׁקֵנִי מִנְּשִׁיקוֹת פִּיךָ (Martineau, שָׁקֵנוּ; see on v. 4); but if v. 1 is preceded by vv. 12–14, the third person of 𝕸𝕲𝕾𝕵 would not be impossible; nor would the transition from the third to the second person in the second hemistich be open to any serious objection. Bickell and Siegfried do not alter 𝕸 in the first hemistich, but read דֹּדִיו for 𝕸 דֹּדֶיךָ in the second hemistich.

For 𝕲 μαστοί (𝕵 ubera) = דַּדַּיִם instead of 𝕸 דֹּדִים see n. 17 on No. 9 of the Translation.

For the preposition מִן in מִנְּשִׁיקוֹת cf. 8,2 (ב).

(3) Budde suggests וְרֵיחַ for 𝕸 לְרֵיחַ at the beginning of this verse (𝕾 ܘܪܝܚܐ ܕܒܣܡܢܝܟ ܛܒ (כ̇) 𝕲ᴾ καὶ ὀσμὴ μύρων σου ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἀρώματα = וְרֵיחַ שְׁמָנֶיךָ מִכָּל בְּשָׂמִים 4,10 (ה, ix). Grätz's emendation בְּשָׂמֶיךָ for 𝕸 שְׁמָנֶיךָ is unnecessary.

1   𝔐 תּוּרַק is a relative clause; *cf.* Luzzato's emendation זְבוּב
יָמוּת (Ges.[27], § 155, f) for 𝔐 זְבוּבֵי מָוֶת Eccl. 10,1 and above,
note on v. 13[b]. It is unnecessary to read, with Bickell, תְּרֵקִי
= Thracian; or, with Grätz, תָּמְרוּק (Esth. 2,3. 9. 12); or, with
Budde, מוּרָק (𝔍 *oleum effusum*, 𝔊[P], μύρον ἐκκενωθέν, 𝔖 ܡܟܟܠ܏ ܙܡܟܕܘ܏),
or יוּרַק, or כַּדְהָרִיק שֶׁמֶן; or, with Siegfried, שֶׁיּוּרַק. 𝔐 שֶׁמֶן
is here construed as fem., just as שֶׁמֶן in v. 6. The fem. form
may have been suggested by הַמִּשְׁחָה (*cf.* 𝔖).

     Nor need we read, with Budde, בְּשִׁמְךָ or שִׁמְךָ for 𝔐 שֶׁמֶן
at the end of this hemistich.

(4)   The sing. suffixes in 𝔐 מָשְׁכֵנִי, הֱבִיאַנִי must not be altered,
with Grätz and Martineau, into the plur. מָשְׁכֵנוּ, הֱבִיאָנוּ; *cf.*
on v. 2.

     𝔊[P] repeats שִׁמְךָ לְרֵיחַ, from the beginning of v. 3, after
אַחֲרֶיךָ: ὀπίσω σου εἰς ὀσμὴν μύρων σου δραμοῦμεν, 𝔍 *post te cur-
remus in odorem unguentorum tuorum.*

     For 𝔐 הֱבִיאַנִי (𝔊[P] εἰσήνεγκέν με, 𝔍 *introduxit me*) read
הֲבִיאֵנִי, imperative, following 𝔖 ܐܟܠܟܡ ܡܟܟܠ ܟܡܟܡܦܢܘ (con-
trast note on 2,4); the following 𝔐 הַמֶּלֶךְ is vocative (Ges.[27],
§ 126, f). Siegfried prefers 𝔐 but inserts 4[a] before v. 5 (ב).

     Bickell's רוּצָה instead of 𝔐 נָרוּצָה is unnecessary.

     For 𝔐 חֲדָרָיו (𝔊[P] εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον αὐτοῦ, 𝔍 *in cellaria sua*)
read חֲדָרֵךְ (Budde, חֲדָרֵיךְ) following 𝔖.

     For 𝔐 בָּךְ (𝔊[P] ἐν σοί, 𝔍 *in te*, 𝔖 ܨܪ), on the other hand, read
בוֹ (Budde, בָּם).

     For 𝔐 נַזְכִּירָה (𝔊[P] ἀγαπήσομεν, but 𝔖 ܢܕܟܪ, 𝔍 *memores*) read,
with Martineau and Budde, נְשַׂפְּרָה, *cf.* 5,1 (gloss ε); Grätz,
נַשְׂכִּירָה. Siegfried prefers 𝔐 and refers to Ps. 71,16. See,
however, E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern
Egyptians*[5], 2, 78, n. 2.

2 (17)   𝔐 סֹב (𝔊 ἀπόστρεψον, 𝔍 *revertere*, 𝔖 ܐܬܦܢܝ) belongs to the end
of the fourth hemistich; it is the imperative of the denominative
verb סבב, *i. e.*, to be בְּמֶסְבּוֹ; *cf.* 1,12 (iv).

8 (14)   In the same way בְּרַח in the variant at the end of the Book
(gloss ζ) has an erotic meaning; it is a denominative verb,
derived from בְּרִיחַ 'bolt,' meaning 'bolt the open door' (8,9),
&c.

2 (17)   The second double-line of the last but one stanza of this poem
has been restored on the basis of the variant in 4,6 (ה, δ), but we
might also keep 𝔐 עַל הָרֵי בָתֶר in the text and supplement the
last hemistich from 8,14: עַל הָרֵי בְשָׂמִים. The addition of a
parallel hemistich to 𝔐 עַל הָרֵי בָתֶר would have made the
meaning of this objectionable phrase too obvious. Bickell reads,
עֲלֵי הָרֵי בְשָׂמִים וְעֲלֵי גִּבְעוֹת בָתֶר. The translation 'on the

2   mountains of malobathron' (*cf.* Field *ad loc.*) seems to me very improbable (𝔊 ἐπὶ ὄρη κοιλωμάτων, 𝔍 *super montes Bether*, but 𝔖 ܐܝܟ ܐܦ̈ܝ ܒܣܡܐ as in 8,14).

(7) For 𝔐 אתכם instead of אתך see note on 8,4 (ב, θ).

According to Winckler, AoF 1, 293 בנות ירושלם does not mean 'maidens of Jerusalem,' but 'inhabitants,' but *cf.* the parallels from D cited in the Explanatory Notes. Father Oussani has called my attention to the modern Egyptian love-songs in Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London, 1871) **2**, 78 where we find يا بنات جوّا المدينة 'O maidens of the city (of Cairo)' and يا بنات اسكندرية 'O maidens of Alexandria.' Contrast Crit. Notes on Isaiah (SBOT), p. 182ᵃ, l. 30, and Ges.²⁷, § 122, s.

For the plur. צבאות (𝔊 ἐν δυνάμεσιν καὶ ἐν ἰσχύσεσιν τοῦ ἀγροῦ) instead of צביות see note on חלאים 7,2 (ב).

אם in such clauses implies an ellipsis: if ye stir or startle our loving, כה יעשה-לכם אלהים וכה יסיף! Contrast Ges.²⁷, § 149, b.

For the masculine forms תעירו and תעוררו see above, note on 1,6 (ב).

𝔍 *neque evigilare faciatis dilectam, quoadusque ipsa velit* seems to have read אהבה for 𝔐 האהבה; *cf.* 7,7 (ב) *carissima* = 𝔐 אהבה, 𝔊 ἀγάπη. 𝔖 ܚܒܝܒܬܐ *amicam*.

3 (5) For the masculine suffixes in the illustrative quotation ⸱ (𝔐 ילדתך, חבלתך אמך, עוררתיך) we must substitute feminine suffixes (ילדתך, חבלתך אמך, עוררתיך) following 𝔖 ܚܡܝܟܝ, ܝܠܕܬܟܝ, ܚܒܠܬܟܝ. Even Delitzsch departs here from the Received Text.

Budde thinks that 𝔐 חבלתך is perhaps a corruption of התלתך 'she wrapped thee in swaddling clothes.'

For 𝔐 ילדתך read, with König, Budde, Siegfried ילדתך, following 𝔊 ἡ τεκοῦσά σου (var., σε), 𝔊 *genitrix tua*. *Cf.* 6,9 (ד).

The third hemistich is not a somewhat modified dittogram of the second (Budde), but the second hemistich is a prefixed explanatory gloss, or variant, to the third; *cf.* 3,8. 10 (א).

<p align="center">ח</p>

4 (1) Bickell reads יפה את רעיתי (*cf.* 6,4, *i. e.*, stanza vii) instead of 𝔐 הנך יפה רעיתי, and for the second הנך יפה of 𝔐 he substitutes עיניך יונים מבעד לצמתך (δ). For 𝔐 אימה כנדגלות he inserts 6,5ᵃ (viiᶜ); but it is sufficient to omit the second יפה of 𝔐 and 𝔐 מבעד לצמתך, at the end of the second hemistich, which is an erroneous repetition from the end of v. 3; *cf.* notes on

4   1,15 (ז, a) and 3,1 (יב). Siegfried cancels 𝔐 מבער לצמתך not only at the end of v. 1 but also at the end of v. 3; he thinks that the clause is especially awkward at the end of v. 3, which is certainly wrong.

Cheyne (JQR 11, 233) thinks that 𝔐 עיניך יונים is far from probable, especially in view of 6,5 (vii). In both passages, says Cheyne, we should very possibly read הלמוני 'have overpowered me.' Cf. Lane, op. cit., p. 77.

For 𝔐 מהר גלעד at the end of the verse Bickell reads מן הגלעד as in 6,5 (gloss η). Budde prefers מבּלעד.

(2) Bickell cancels the second hemistich.

For 𝔐 כּלם and בּהם, at the end of the verse, instead of כלן and בדן see note on 8,4 (ג, θ).

(3) The Qᵉrê מדבּרך (𝔊 ἡ λαλιά σου, 𝔍 eloquium tuum, 𝔖 ܡܡܠܠܟܝ) instead of 𝔐 Kᵉthîb מדבריך is preferable; a pluralis magnitudinis is out of place in this case. The rare word is chosen in order to get two beats; cf. note on 1,6 (ב).

(4) 𝔐 כמגדל דויד צוּארך בנוי לתלפּיות , 𝔊 ὡς πύργος Δαυειδ τράχηλός σου, ὁ ᾠκοδομημένος εἰς Θαλπιωθ, 𝔍 Sicut turris David collum tuum, quae aedificata est cum propugnaculis, 𝔖 ܐܒܢ ܒܢܝܢܐ* "built with battlements, merlons' (Graecus Venetus, ἐπάλξεις). 𝔐 תלפּיות is neither a corruption of שׁלטים* (Cheyne, Expository Times, 9, 423; JQR 11, 562) nor a Greek loanword = τηλωπία (Grätz, Martineau, Budde) but the plural of the fem. inf. Piel,† תלפּית or תלפּיה, from לפה 'to surround, to protect with walls and other fortifications.' The permansive lapî or labî is repeatedly met with in the cuneiform texts (HW 368ᵇ), and it is not impossible that the ἅπαξ λεγόμενον שׁלבים 1 K 7,28 (cf. Assyr. šulbû) is connected with this stem; cf. Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT), p. 95, l. 11.

𝔐 תלוי is a superfluous insertion.

For 𝔐 עליו Bickell reads בן.

Siegfried considers the fourth hemistich, כל שׁלטי הגבּרים , a gloss.

(6) At the end of the second hemistich we may supply בּשׂחר .

𝔊 πρὸς τὸν βουνὸν τοῦ Λιβάνου for 𝔐 ואל גבעת הלבונה; contrast note on כתרצה (ז). We may read, however, λιβάνου (= 𝔍 ad collem thuris); so, too, in v. 14 (where 𝔍 = 𝔊, cum universis lignis Libani, but 𝔖 ܕܠܒܢܢ ܡܢ ܩܝܣܐ).

1   (9) For 𝔐 לסֻסתי (𝔊 τῇ ἵππῳ μου, 𝔍 equitatui meo) read לסֻסתי ; cf. 𝔐 בּפּי for בּפּי 5,1 (ם, v). For the double plural ending see

* Assyr. tukku is a synonym of aritu and qabâbu 'shield, pavise' (HW 129ᵇ, 578ᵇ, 705ᵃ).

† Cf. vol. 18 of this JOURNAL, p. 230, n. 5.

1   Ges.²⁷, § 87, s and Haupt, *Assyr. E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 5.
Neither לְסֻסָתִי nor בִּרְכְבֵי is an amplificative plural (against
Siegfried); contrast מרכבות 6,12 (א, η).

   (10) It is not necessary to read, with Budde, מה נאור, following 𝔊
τί ὡραιώθησαν; contrast 4,10 (viii).

      𝔊 ὡς τρυγόνες, ὡς ὁρμίσκοι (𝔍 *sicut turturis, sicut monilia*)
= כָּתֹרִים, כַּחֲרוּזִים; the same mistake in 𝔐 כתימרות 3,6 (א)
and כמהלח 7,1 (ב).

4   (5) 𝔐 שֶׁנִּי at the beginning of the verse must be prefixed to 𝔐
תאומי צביה in the second hemistich. Bickell omits תאומי צביה
צביה.

6   (4) Cheyne (JQR 11, 233) thinks that 'the true reading is יפה אַתְּ
רעיתי כחבצלת נאוה כשושנת עמקים; *cf.* 2,1 and notice
שושנים in 6,3. The meadow-saffron became Tirzah; the lily,
Jerusalem. The valleys (עמקים) became 'a terrible one'
(אימה), and this suggested to the scribe כַּמַּגְדָּלוֹת; he thought
of 8,10. נדגלות is neither an army with banners, nor the hosts of
heaven (AoF 1,293), but simply a corruption (נ for מ).* In 6,10
the parallel passage is an interpolation.'—But אימה כנדגלות
(ז) is an interpolation in the present passage, not in 6,10 (ב, i).
Cf. also Perles' *Analekten*, p. 31, quoted by Cheyne, *l. c.*

     For 𝔊 ὡς εὐδοκία (𝔍 *suavis*, 𝔖 اُمرٍ) = 𝔐 כתרצה; *cf.*
on אמנה 4,8 (ה). Budde, following Bickell, is inclined to omit
not only 𝔐 כתרצה (ε) but also נאוה כירושלם.

   (5) For 𝔐 שדם instead of שדך see above, note on 4,2 (ii).

     For the variant מהר גלעד (gloss η) instead of מן הגלעד
in stanza i see on 4,1.

   (6) 𝔐 הרחלים is a gloss on הקצובות in stanza ii, which after-
wards crept into the text, displacing the original הקצובות; *cf.*
note on בחור 5,15 (ו, ζ). 𝔊 has ὡς ἀγέλαι τῶν κεκαρμένων in
both passages.

     For 𝔐 שכלם and בהם see note on 4,2.

   (7) The double-line, corresponding to 4,3ᵃ, which is here omitted in
𝔐, is supplied in 𝔊𝔖ᴴ 'ΑΣ.

4   (9) Bickell and Budde think that vv. 9–11 belong to another song
Bickell believes they may represent a fragment of an alphabetic
poem, but the sequence of the initial consonants of these three
double-lines (ל, מ, נ) may be accidental; *cf.* Crit. Notes on
Proverbs (SBOT), p. 54, l. 30.

     The Qᵉrê בְּאַחַת is more correct than the Kᵉthîb בְּאַחַד but
not absolutely necessary.

     𝔐 בְּאַחַד עֶנָק מִצַּוְּרֹנָיִךְ instead of בְּעֶנָק אַחַד (Ges.²⁷,
§ 134, d) is peculiar; 𝔐 עֶנָק seems to be a gloss. Siegfried

 * So Grätz, Martineau.

4   thinks that it is miswritten for some other word (𝔊 ἐν θέματι, 𝔍 *in uno crine colli tui*, but 𝔖 خَمّل). Nor is it necessary to insert, with Siegfried, a word for 'glance' between בָּאַחַת and מֵעֵינַיִךְ.

(12)   Bickell's insertion אֶת before 𝔐 אֲחֹתִי, which is endorsed by Budde, is superfluous.

    Bickell reads עֵין חֲתוּמָה instead of 𝔐 מַעְיָן חָתוּם.

    𝔐 גַּל at the beginning of the second hemistich is better than גַּן (so several MSS and editions, 𝔊𝔖𝔍, Grätz, Budde, Siegfried); גַּל could easily become גַּן, but it is difficult to see why גַּן should have been corrupted to גַּל. גַּן is nothing but a repetition of the beginning of the first hemistich just as the following 𝔐 נָעוּל which must be canceled.

(15)   V. 15 must be inserted after v. 12.

    Budde's emendation מַעְיַן גַּנִּים for 𝔐 גַּנִּים מַ' (gloss π) is unnecessary, although it is adopted by Siegfried (Budde thinks that 𝔊ᵛ πηγὴ κήπου καί points to גַּן, and that גַּן was miswritten for בְּנֵי); nor can we read with Winckler (AoF 1, 293) מַעְיָן בְּלִים. 𝔊ᵛ πηγὴ κήπου, 𝔊ᴮᴬ κήπων, 𝔍 *fons hortorum*, 𝔖 محاسن do not favor the reading בְּלִים, although 𝔊 has κῆπος = גַּן for גַּל in v. 12; κῆπος means 'garden' and according to the ancient lexicographers it is used also for *pudendum mulieris*.

    For בָּאֵר instead of 𝔐 בְּאֵר see note on צֶאנָה 3,11 (א).

(13)   Bickell reads the plural פַּרְדֵּסִים for 𝔐 פַּרְדֵּס, and cancels 𝔐 רמונים.

    Before 𝔐 פְּרִי we must insert, with Budde, כָּל; cf. 14ᵇ and the variant σᵇ; also 7,14ᵇ (מ). The כָּל was probably omitted owing to the פְּרִי מְגָדִין at the end of the chapter (מ, I, ᵇ), where כָּל is, of course, inappropriate.

(14)   𝔐 כַּרְכֹּם should be inserted between 𝔐 מֹר אֲהָלוֹת in the first hemistich of the variant σ. It is not necessary to read, with D. H. Müller, כֶּמְכֹּם = كمكام, κάγκαμον, *cancamum* (Pliny 12, 98), a gum-resin from South Arabia; cf. Ges.-Buhl¹² , *s. v.* כַּרְכֹּם (omitted in Ges.-Buhl¹³).

(16)   Bickell's וְהֵפִיחוּ גַּנּוּ is not good.

ט

(16ᵇ)   It is not necessary to read, with Bickell, בְּנֵי for 𝔐 גַּנּוּ (so, too, 𝔊𝔖𝔍); cf. 6,2 (vi) and note on 1,2 (ז).

7 (12)   𝔐 הַשָּׂדֶה is an incorrect explanatory gloss; the lovers do not want to go to the country, but they desire to promenade in the fair garden of the bridal chamber.

7 Bickell cancels the second hemistich. 𝔐 בכפרים means 'among the henna-flowers' (cf. 1,14; 4,13), not 'in the villages' (𝔊 ἐν κώμαις, 𝔍 in villis, 𝔖 ; so, too, Ges.-Buhl[12]; Siegfried in Siegfried-Stade, contrast Siegfried's commentary; Brown-Driver-Briggs).

(13) Prefix אם to the third hemistich (Bickell cancels 𝔐 פתח הסמדר). 𝔍 repeats si before each of the three clauses, but this does not show that אם was read three times in the Hebrew text.

𝔊 has ἤνθησε not only for 𝔐 הנץ, but also for 𝔐 פרח and פתח.

(14) Bickell cancels 𝔐 ועל פתחינו. It is better to read the singular פתחנו, although 𝔐𝔊𝔖𝔍 have the plural (ἐπὶ θύραις ἡμῶν, in portis nostris,); cf. note on מדבריך 4,3 (ח).

𝔐 דודי צפנתי לך is a relative clause (against Budde); cf. note on 3,8 (א).

6 (11) For 𝔐 בנת (Est. 1,5; 7,7) we may point בֻּנֹת; cf. the plural בנים in 6,2° (vi) and note on 5,13 (ו). It is not necessary to read, with Grätz, לרסת for 𝔐 לראות.

5 (1) For 𝔐 גַנִּי (so, too, 𝔊𝔖𝔍) read גַּנַּי, pluralis amplificativus, = the beautiful garden; cf. above, note on 6,11 and contrast note on 1,9 (ח).

𝔐 אחתי is not vocative, but nomen rectum depending on the nomen regens גַּנַּי.

𝔖 repeats the first hemistich thrice (the third time without the vocative אחתי כלה).

𝔐 מורי עם בשמי, &c., is idiomatic Hebrew; cf. 4,13. 14, where we have this עם four times. Budde says that עם in 1,11 תורי זהב . . . . עם נקדות הכסך (ג, 8) is not Hebrew. Cf. also Eccl. 2,16 (ימות החכם עם הכסיל); 7,11 טובה חכמה (עם נחלה), &c. עם means 'as well as.'

Stanzas iv and v may be variants of stanza vi.

ﹶ

2 (9) The first two hemistichs (a) must be canceled, with Bickell, Budde, Siegfried, as a scribal expansion derived from 2,17 (ﬣ, ix[a]). 𝔊 adds also the last words of 2,17, ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρη Βαιθήλ, although 𝔐 על הרי בתר is rendered in 2,17 by ἐπὶ ὅρη κοιλωμάτων.

The dativus ethicus in 𝔐 דְּמֵה לָךְ 2,17 is correct (against Ges.[27], § 119, s); it means, 'Make thyself like, jump like,' &c. (cf. Nöldeke, Syr. Gr.[3], § 224).

Bickell cancels 𝔐 סבב; it is omitted in 𝔊[V], but not in 𝔊[APS] (𝔊[S] has it at the end of the line, after 𝔐 אדר כתלנו).

2   According to Winckler (AoF 1, 298), כֹּתֶל does not mean 'wall' but 'side-building.' Contrast BA 4, 513, l. 2.

For 𝕸 מַשְׁגִּיחַ and מֵצִיץ, referring to the lover, we must read, with Budde, אַשְׁגִּיחַ and אָצִיץ, referring to the maiden; contrast Siegfried *ad loc.*

(10) Cancel 10ᵃ (β) with Martineau.

𝕾 ἀνάστα ἐλθέ (𝔍 *surge, propera*) misunderstood the *dativus ethicus* in קוּמִי לָךְ (*cf* note on 4,8; ה) and added therefore περιστερά μου instead of καὶ ἐλθέ = 𝕸 וּלְכִי־לָךְ at the end of the stanza (so, correctly, Budde). 𝔍 inserts *columba mea* before *formosa mea* = 𝕸 יָפָתִי, although it has *et veni* = וּלְכִי־לָךְ at the end of the first stanza. At the end of the second stanza* the refrain is correctly translated in 𝔍. 𝕾 gives a correct translation of the refrain in both cases, but the first time 𝕸 וּלְכִי־לָךְ is rendered by ܐܘ ܠܟܝ ܬܝ ; and the second time, by ܬܝ ܠܟܝ .

It is not necessary to cancel the conjunction in 𝕸 וּלְכִי־לָךְ (against Bickell).

(11) For 𝕸 סָתָו read סְתָו ; see note on 5,2 (ו). The Qᵉrê סְתָיו (*cf.* the Qᵉrê עָיֵף Num. 12,3 and שָׁלִיו †) is incorrect. In the same way יְחִדִין is less correct than יְחִדָו = יְחִדָם ; see my remarks in the *Andover Review* (July, 1884), p. 96, n. 1; *cf.* ZA 2, 266.

𝕾 omits the second hemistich of this verse.

It is unnecessary to insert, with Siegfried, ו before 𝕸 לוֹ הָלַךְ, although several MSS prefix the conjunction.

(12) For the plural form נִצָּנִים see Haupt, *Assyr. E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 5.

Before 𝕸 בְּאַרְצֵנוּ (canceled by Budde and Siegfried) the meter requires the insertion of הַסּוּס בָּא ; the omission of בָּא was due to haplography, *cf.* Crit. Notes on Ezra-Neh. (SBOT), p. 61, l. 1; הַסּוּס may have been omitted because it was mistaken for הַסּוּס 'the horse.' In Is. 38,14 סוּס has the gloss (omitted in 𝕾) עָגוּר, derived from Jer. 8,7 (Qᵉrê סִיס); *cf.* Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, 3,31.

(13) For 𝕸 תְּאֵנָה (𝔍 *grossi*; *cf.* Pliny 17, 254) read תְּאֵנָה ; see note on 3,11 (א).

(14) The second מָשָׁל of the third stanza may be restored from 5,2 (ו, iiᵃ).

The Qᵉrê מַרְאֵךְ, for the Kᵉthîb מַרְאַיִךְ at the end of the verse, is unnecessary.

3 (13) 𝕸 מַקְטִיבִים חֲבֵרִים is an incorrect explanatory gloss to 𝕸 הַיּוֹשֶׁבֶת ; this is not a collective (*cf.* note on 2,7; ז) but a vocative (*cf.* note on 1, 4; ז) addressed to a maiden.

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* Here 𝕾 adds καὶ ἐλθέ, preceded by περιστερά μου.

† See Crit. Notes on Numbers (SBOT), p. 48, l. 23.

<div dir="rtl">יא</div>

1 (7) Cancel אֵיכָה תִרְעֶה, with Bickell.

Grätz reads אֵיפֹה for M אֵיכָה (𝔖 اینا), but ekâ means 'where?' in Assyrian (HW 48ᵃ).

For M כְּעֹטְיָה (𝔊, ὡς περιβαλλομένη, cf. περίβλημα = περιβόλαιον 'cover, wrap') read כְּטֹעִיָה (𝔖 امر يحملا, 𝔍 ne vagari incipiam) with Nöldeke, Grätz, Siegfried. Bickell reads כְּעֹטִיָה, which is said to mean 'fainting, swooning;' he compares Arab. مَشَى عَلَيْه; but this combination is impossible. Nor can we adopt the suggestion of Wetzstein (endorsed by Budde) that M עֹטְיָה = الفَاضِيَة 'pining with love' (cf. 5,8; ו, viiᶜ).

(8) M הַיָּפָה בַּנָּשִׁים must be canceled, with Bickell; contrast Budde ad loc.

M לָךְ after תֵדְעִי must not be omitted (against Budde); cf. note on 2,9 (ר).

Nor need we read, with Budde, צֹאנִי instead of M הַצֹּאן (𝔊 τῶν ποιμνίων).

𝔊ᴬ adds to τῶν ποιμένων, at the end of the second stanza, σου; this is an erroneous repetition of the pronoun at the end of the first stanza; cf. note on 5,5 (ו, δ).

<div dir="rtl">יב</div>

3 (1) Cf. for this song my remarks in H, p. 58.

בְּקִשְׁתִיו וְלֹא מְצָאתִיו (a) is not a refrain (Budde) but an erroneous repetition of the second hemistich of the following double-line (β) which is a scribal expansion derived from 5,6 (ו, viᵇ). 𝔊 inserts here also ἐκάλεσα αὐτὸν καὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουσέν μου = קְרָאתִיו וְלֹא עָנָנִי 5,6 (ו, viᵈ), and in 𝔊ᴬᴾ this clause is added again at the end of v. 2.

(2) For the final -a in M אֲקוּמָה־נָּא וַאֲסוֹבְבָה see BA 1,10, below (cf. ibid., p. 340) and my paper on the particle ־כָּא (Syr. لَ, ــَ = Assyr. emphatic -ma) cited in Ges.²⁷, § 105, b, n. 3.

For M בַּשְּׁוָקִים point בַּשְּׁוָקִים.

(3) M הַשֹּׁמְרִים is an incorrect explanatory gloss (cf. ו, β; ם, a) to הַסֹּבְבִים. Bickell, on the other hand, cancels M הַסֹּבְבִים.

(4) For כִּמְעַט cf. Crit. Notes on Proverbs (SBOT), p. 45, l. 19.

M עַד־שֶׁמָּצָאתִי is correct (against Budde); it must be explained in the same way as the corresponding حَتَّى إِذَا = الَّا , و ; cf. Wright-de Goeje³, 2, p. 13, D and p. 339, C (e. g. فما شَعَرْتُ بِشَيْءٍ حَتَّى إِذَا الأَسْوَدُ قَدْ دَخَلَ البَيْتَ); Reckendorf, Arab. Synt. (Leyden, 1898), p. 774. Budde thinks that מ עַד (𝔊 ἕως οὗ, 𝔖 ؟ حمل) in עַד־שֶׁמָּצָאתִי is an erroneous repetition of the מ עַד prefixed to הֲבֵיאתִיו (δ), but the מ עַד before δ is an erroneous repetition of מ עַד in עַד־שֶׁמָּצָאתִי, not vice versa.

3 Gloss *δ* belongs to 8,2 (‏ג‎, viii); so Bickell, Budde, Siegfried. Just as the last double-line of *δ* is followed by the first double-line of ‏א‎, so the last double-line of the parallel passage 8,4 is followed by the variant to the opening double-line of ‏א‎, viz. 8,5ᵃ (‏א‎, *β*). This shows that 3,4ᵈ–6 and 8,2–5ᵃ are variants (Bickell).

Gloss *δ* seems to have displaced the last hemistich of v. 4, which has been conjecturally restored in our text (‏וַאֹמַר אֶל־‎ ‏מַאֲהֲבָה נַפְשִׁי‎); *cf.* ‏א‎, *η*; ‏ד‎, iiᵇ, ivᵃ; ‏ו‎, xiᵈ; ‏י‎, iiᶠ, iiiᶜ·ᵈ ⁱ·ᵏ.

8 (6) We must not read, with Bickell, ‏זְרוֹעֶ‎ ‏לִבִּי‎, ‏שְׂמֶנִי‎ for ‏Ꜳ‎ ‏שִׂמֵנִי‎, ‏לִבֶּךָ‎, ‏זְרוֹעֶךָ‎; contrast note on 1,4 (‏ז‎, viiᵇ). Nor need we change, with Budde, the second ‏כַּחוֹתָם‎ of ‏Ꜳ‎ to ‏כְּצָמִיד‎. ‏Ꜳ‎ ὡς σφραγῖδα, *δ ut signaculum*, in both cases.

Bickell's ‏קִנְאָתֵהּ‎, which is endorsed by Budde, for ‏Ꜳ‎ ‏קִנְאָה‎ is unnecessary.

Budde's emendation, ‏רְשָׁפֵי אֵל‎ for ‏Ꜳ‎ ‏רְשָׁפֶי אֵשׁ‎ is not good.

For ‏Ꜳ‎ ‏שַׁלְהֶבֶתְיָה‎, at the end of the verse, we must read (with Ewald, Hitzig, Olshausen, Kamphausen, Budde, Siegfried) ‏שַׁלְהֶבֹת יָהּ שַׁלְהֶבֹתֶיהָ‎ (*haplography;* ‏Ꜳ‎ has simply φλόγες αὐτῆς, *δ atque flammarum*, ‏Ꜳ‎ ‏ܡܠܗܒ̈ܝܬܐ‎); *cf.* ‏Ꜳ‎ 1 K ‏אֵשׁ יְהוָה‎ 18,38. This is decidedly preferable to Bickell's ‏שַׁלְהֶבֹת‎ ‏יְקוֹד שַׁלְהֶבֹתֶיהָ‎. Contrast Crit. Notes on Jeremiah (SBOT), p. 45, l. 28, and ŽAT 16,6.

(7) For ‏Ꜳ‎ ‏לְכַבּוֹת אֶת הָאַהֲבָה‎ read, with Budde, ‏לְכַבֹּתֵהּ‎.

For ‏Ꜳ‎ ‏אֶת־כָּל־הוֹן בֵּיתוֹ‎ ‏Ꜳ‎ has τὸν πάντα βίον αὐτοῦ, but *δ omnem substantiam domus suae*, ‏Ꜳ‎ ‏ܟܠ ܩܢܝܢܐ ܕܒܝܬܗ‎. Bickell inserts ‏כִּי גֶבֶר עָבְרוּ‎ after the second hemistich, and ‏יָמִיר‎ after *θ*, followed by a hemistich of his own invention, ‏לֹא יִקְנֶה‎ ‏אֶת־אַהֲבָה‎, and ‏כִּי אִם‎ prefixed to ‏בֵּן יָבֹחַר לוֹ‎; but this last clause is interrogative, although it is not introduced by an interrogative particle, just as in 3,3ᵇ (stanza ii). ‏Ꜳ‎ prefixes there μή, *δ num*, ‏Ꜳ‎ ‏ܠܡܐ‎.

A systematic discussion of the Ancient Versions must be reserved for the critical edition of the Heb. text in The Polychrome Bible (SBOT). Nor have I deemed it necessary to repeat the statements bearing on the text, which have been made in the explanatory notes to the translation, published in vol. 18 of this JOURNAL, pp. 193–244, or in the notes to my paper on Some Difficult Passages in the Song of Songs, printed in vol. 21 of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1902). When I prepared those notes I did not think I should be able to add any special notes on the Heb. text; otherwise I should not have included in the explanatory notes several remarks which might have been reserved for the critical notes. It is preferable to keep the critical and philological remarks entirely distinct from the explanatory notes.

The latter should be free from all purely technical details, and this course will be followed when I publish the translation in a different form.

The metrical problems can be discussed only in connection with an accented transliteration of the Hebrew text which will appear elsewhere.

ADDENDUM.

Ad p. 7, l. 6 (note on 6,8):—If 6,8 is preceded by 8,12 it is not necessary to substitute שְׁלֹמֹה for הֲבָמָה ; *cf.* note on 1,2 (ז).

יב

I	בקשתי את־שאהבה נפשי·	על משכבי בלילות	3,א
	בשוקים וברחבות⁵	אקומה־נא ואסובבה בעיר	2
II	את־שאהבה נפשי ראיתם:	מצאוני ׳הסבבים בעיר	3
	עד־שמצאתי את־שאהבה נפשי	כמעט שעברתי מהם	4
III	ואמר אל־שאהבה נפשי:	אחזתיו ולא ארפנו׳	
	כחותם על זרוך	שימני כחותם על־לבך	8,6
IV	קשה כשאול קנאה	כי־עזה כמות אהבה	
	שלהביתיה שלהבת יה:	רשפיה רשפי אש	
V	ונהרות לא ישפטוה	׳לא־יוכלו לכבתה׳	7
	בוז יבוזו לו:	אם־יתן את־כל־הון ביתו׳	

3,א (א) בקשתיו ולא מצאתיו

(ß) אבקשה את־שאהבה נפשי   בקשתיו ולא מצאתיו

8 (ץ) השמרים

(עד־ש) הביאתיו אל־בית אמי   ואל־חדר הורתי:

ח השבעתי אתכם בנות (ירושלם)   בצבאות אר־באילות השדה

אם־תעירו ואם תעוררו   את־האהבה עד שתחפץ:

8, 7 (ה) מים רבים   (ן) את־האאהבה   (ז) איש   (ח) באאהבה

י

I 2, 8 קוֹל דּוֹדִי הִנֵּה־זֶה בָּא
מְדַלֵּג עַל־הֶהָרִים מְקַפֵּץ עַל־הַגְּבָעוֹת:
9 הִנֵּה־זֶה עֹמֵד אַחַר כָּתְלֵנוּ
מַשְׁגִּיחַ מִן־הַחַלֹּנוֹת מֵצִיץ מִן־הַחֲרַכִּים:
י קוּמִי־לָךְ רַעְיָתִי יָפָתִי וּלְכִי־לָךְ:

II 11 כִּי־הִנֵּה הַסְּתָו עָבָר הַגֶּשֶׁם חָלַף הָלַךְ לוֹ:
12 הַנִּצָּנִים נִרְאוּ בָאָרֶץ עֵת הַזָּמִיר הִגִּיעַ
וְקוֹל הַתּוֹר נִשְׁמַע הַסּוּס בָּא בְאַרְצֵנוּ:
13 הַתְּאֵנָה חָנְטָה פַגֶּיהָ וְהַגְּפָנִים נָתְנוּ רֵיחַ
קוּמִי־לָךְ רַעְיָתִי יָפָתִי וּלְכִי־לָךְ:

III 14 יוֹנָתִי בְּחַגְוֵי־הַסֶּלַע בְּסֵתֶר הַמַּדְרֵגָה
פְּתְחִי־לִי אֲחֹתִי רַעְיָתִי תַמָּתִי
הַרְאִינִי אֶת־מַרְאַיִךְ הַשְׁמִיעִנִי אֶת־קוֹלֵךְ
כִּי קוֹלֵךְ עָרֵב וּמַרְאֵיךְ נָאוֶה:
קוּמִי־לָךְ רַעְיָתִי יָפָתִי וּלְכִי־לָךְ:

2, 9 (α) דּוֹמֶה דוֹדִי לִצְבִי אוֹ לְעֹפֶר הָאַיָּלִים
י (β) עָנָה דוֹדִי וְאָמַר־לִי
13 (γ) סְמָדַר
8 13 (δ) הדרשבת בגנים (חברים מקשיבים) לקולך השמיעיני:

יא

I 1, 7 הַגִּידָה־לִּי שֶׁאָהֲבָה נַפְשִׁי *אֵיכָה תַרְבִּיץ בַּצָּהֳרָיִם
שַׁלָּמָה אֶהְיֶה כְּעֹטְיָה עַל עֶדְרֵי חֲבֵרֶיךָ:

II 8 אִם־לֹא תֵדְעִי לָךְ צְאִי־לָךְ בְּעִקְבֵי הַצֹּאן
וּרְעִי אֶת־גְּדִיֹּתַיִךְ עַל מִשְׁכְּנוֹת הָרֹעִים:

1, 7 (α) אֵיכָה תִרְעֶה 8 (β) הַיָּפָה בַּנָּשִׁים

4 (ז) תלוי   (ה) מבעד לצמתך   4,א (א) יפה
ח (ב) הרעים בשושנים
6 עד שיפוח היום ונסו הצללים בשחר
אלך־לי אל־הר המור ואל גבעת הלבונה:
איֻמה כנדגלות (?)   4, 6 (ג) כתרצה
ח (ד) שערך כעדר העזים שגלשו מן הגלעד:
6 שניך כעדר הרחלים שעלו מן הרחצה:
שכלם מתאימות ושכלה אין בהם:
7 כפלח הרמון רקתך מבעד לצמתך:
(ח) דבש   11 (א) כלה   (ו) כלה   י   4, 9 (ה) לבבתני אחתי (כלה)
(ס) נעול   12 (ג) כלה   (ז) ריח   י   11 (ב) ריח
13 (ד) כפרים עם נרדים   סו (ח) מעין גנים
14 (ט) מר וכרכם ואהלות   עם־כל ראשי בשמים

ט

I   ויאכל פרי מגדיו   4,16 יבא דודי לגנו
נלינה בכפרים: 7,12 לכה דודי נצא•

II   נראה אם־פרחה הגפן   13 נשכימה לכרמים
הנצו הרמונים: אם פתח הסמדר

III ועל־פתחנו כל מגדים   14 הדודאים נתנו ריח
דודי צפנתי לך: חדשים גם ישנים

IV   לראות באבי הנחל   6,11 אל־גנת אגוז ירדתי
הנצו הרמונים: לראות הפרחה הגפן

V   אריתי מורי עם־בשמי   5, א באתי לגני אחתי•
שתיתי ייני עם־חלבי   אכלתי יערי עם־דבשי

VI   לערוגות הבשם   6, 2 דודי ירד לגנו
וללקט שושנים: לרעות בגנים

ח

הִנָּךְˣ עֵינַיִךְ יוֹנִיםˣ שֶׁגָּלְשׁוּ מֵהַר גִּלְעָד:	הִנָּךְ יָפָה רַעְיָתִי שַׂעְרֵךְ כְּעֵדֶר הָעִזִּים	4, א	I
שֶׁעָלוּ מִן הָרַחְצָה וְשַׁכֻּלָה אֵין בָּהֶם:	שִׁנַּיִךְ כְּעֵדֶר הַקְּצוּבוֹת שֶׁכֻּלָּם מַתְאִימוֹת	2	II
וּמִדְבָּרֵךְ נָאוֶה מִבַּעַד לְצַמָּתֵךְ:	כְּחוּט הַשָּׁנִי שִׂפְתוֹתַיִךְ כְּפֶלַח הָרִמּוֹן רַקָּתֵךְ	3	III
בָּנוּי לְתַלְפִּיּוֹת כֹּל שִׁלְטֵי הַגִּבֹּרִים:	כְּמִגְדַּל דָּוִיד צַוָּארֵךְ אֶלֶף הַמָּגֵן עָלָיו	4	IV
דִּמִּיתִיךְ רַעְיָתִי: צַוָּארֵךְ בַּחֲרוּזִים:	לְסֻסָתִי בְּרִכְבֵי פַרְעֹה נָאווּ לְחָיַיִךְ בַּתֹּרִים	1, 9 י	V
שְׁנֵי תָאוֹמֵי צְבִיָּהˣ: וּמוּם אֵין בָּךְ:	שְׁדַיִךְ כִּשְׁנֵי עֳפָרִים כֻּלָּךְ יָפָה רַעְיָתִי	4, ה 7	VI
נָאוֶה כִירוּשָׁלַםˣ שֶׁהֵם הִרְהִיבֻנִיˣ:	יָפָה אַתְּ רַעְיָתִיˣ הָסֵבִּי עֵינַיִךְ מִנֶּגְדִּי	6, 4 ה	VII
בְּאַחַד (ˣעֲנָק) מִצַּוְּרֹנָיִךְ: מַה דּוֹדַיִךְ מִיָּיִן:	ˣלִבַּבְתִּנִי בְּאַחַת מֵעֵינַיִךְ מַה יָּפוּ דֹדַיִךְ אֲחֹתִיˣ	4, 9 י	VIII
ˣוּחֲלָב תַּחַת לְשׁוֹנֵךְ וְרֵיחַ שַׂלְמֹתַיִךְ מִכָּל בְּשָׂמִים:	נֹפֶת תִּטֹּפְנָה שִׂפְתוֹתַיִךְˣ וְˣשַׁלְמֹתַיִךְ כְּרֵיחַ לְבָנוֹן	11	IX
גַּלˣ מַעְיָן חָתוּם:ˣ וְנֹזְלִים מִן לְבָנוֹן:	גַּן נָעוּל אֲחֹתִיˣ בְּאֵר מַיִם חַיִּים	12 טו	X
עִם־כָּל פְּרִי מְגָדִיםˣ עִם־כָּל עֲצֵי לְבוֹנָהˣ:	שְׁלָחֵךְ פַּרְדֵּס רִמּוֹנִים נֵרְדְּ קָנֶה וְקִנָּמוֹן	13 14	XI
וּבוֹאִי תֵימָן יִזְּלוּ בְשָׂמָיו:	עוּרִי צָפוֹן הָפִיחִי גַנִּי	16	XII

ז

I
אַף־נָעִים °עַרְשֵׂנוּ רַעֲנָנָה: יָהִנְּךָ יָפֶה דוֹדִי   1,16

וְכֹל רַהִיטֵנוּ בְּרוֹתִים: קֹרוֹת בָּתֵּנוּ אֲרָזִים   17

II
כֵּן־דּוֹדִי בֵּין הַבָּנִים   כְּתַפּוּחַ בַּעֲצֵי הַיַּעַר   2, 3

וּפִרְיוֹ מָתוֹק לְחִכִּי: בְּצִלּוֹ חִמַּדְתִּי וְיָשַׁבְתִּי

III
וְדִגְלוֹ עָלַי אַהֲבָה: הֱבִיאַנִי אֶל־בֵּית הַיָּיִי   4

רַפְּדֻנִי בַּתַּפּוּחִים: סַמְּכֻנִי בָּאֲשִׁישׁוֹת   ה

IV
וִימִינוֹ תְּחַבְּקֵנִי: שְׂמֹאלוֹ תַּחַת לְרֹאשִׁי   6

נִרְדִּי נָתַן רֵיחוֹ:   עַד שֶׁהַמֶּלֶךְ בִּמְסִבּוֹ   1,12

V
בֵּין שָׁדַי יָלִין: צְרוֹר הַמֹּר דּוֹדִי־לִי   13

בְּכַרְמֵי עֵין גֶּדִי: אֶשְׁכֹּל הַכֹּפֶר דּוֹדִי־לִי   14

VI
כִּי־טוֹבִים דֹּדֶיךָ מִיָּיִן: נַשְּׁקֵנִי מִנְּשִׁיקוֹת פִּיךָ   2

עַל־כֵּן עֲלָמוֹת אֲהֵבוּךָ:   שֶׁמֶן תּוּרַק שְׁמֶךָ   3

VII
הֱבִיאַנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ חֲדָרָיו: מָשְׁכֵנִי אַחֲרֶיךָ | נָּרוּצָה   4

נַזְכִּירָה דֹדֶיךָ מִיָּיִן: נָגִילָה וְנִשְׂמְחָה בָּךְ

VIII
הָרֹעֶה בַּשּׁוֹשַׁנִּים: דּוֹדִי־לִי וַאֲנִי לוֹ   2,16

וְנָסוּ הַצְּלָלִים סֹב   עַד שֶׁיָּפוּחַ הַיּוֹם   17

IX
אוֹ לְעֹפֶר הָאַיָּלִים   דְּמֵה־לְךָ דוֹדִי לִצְבִי

וְעַל גִּבְעַת הַלְּבוֹנָה: יַעַל הָרֵי הַמֹּר

X
בִּצְבָאוֹת אוֹ־בְּאַיְלוֹת הַשָּׂדֶה   הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי אֶתְכֶם בְּנוֹת   7

אִם־תָּעִירוּ וְאִם־תְּעוֹרְרוּ אֶת־הָאַהֲבָה עַד שֶׁתֶּחְפָּץ:

הִנָּךְ (יָפָה) עֵינַיִךְ יוֹנִים: טז 1,16 (a) הִנָּךְ יָפָה רַעְיָתִי

ה 2,3 (f) כִּי־חוֹלַת אַהֲבָה אָנִי   16 (b) אִם

4 (e) מְיֻשָּׁרִים אֲהֵבוּךָ   א 1, 3 (c) לְרֵיחַ שְׁמָנֶיךָ טוֹבִים

שֶׁכְּרוּ דּוֹדִים   א 5,א (d) אָכְלוּ (רֵעִים) שְׁתוּ

לִצְבִי אוֹ־לְעֹפֶר הָאַיָּלִים   8,14 בְּרַח דּוֹדִי וְדִמֵה־לָךְ

עַל הָרֵי בְשָׂמִים: 2,17 עַל הָרֵי בָתֶר

יה 8,3 (i) תַּחַת הַתַּפּוּחַ עוֹרַרְתִּיךָ   2, 7 (e) יְרוּשָׁלַ‍ם

(שָׁמָּה חִבְּלַתְךָ אִמֶּךָ)

שָׁמָּה חִבְּלָה יְלָדַתְךָ:

דגול מֵרבבה:	י 5, דודי צח ואדום	5,10	X
‎³דלתיו סהרות כעורב:	ראשו כתם ופז	11	
‎⁽ᵇ⁾ישבות על מֵלֵאת	עיניו כְּיונים	12	XI
סֵגות בַּשׁושַׁנִּים:	רחצות בֶּחלב		
מגְדלות מרקחים	לחָיָו כערוגֹת הבֹּשֶׂם	13	XII
נֹפוֹת מור עֹבר:	שֹׂפתותיו שׁושַׁנִּים		
ממֻלָּאים בַּתרשׁישׁ	ידיו גלילי זהב	14	XIII
מעֻלֶּפת ספּירים	מעיו עֶשׁת שֵׁן		
ביֻסדים על־אדני פז:	שׁוֹקיו עמודי שֵׁשׁ	טו	XIV
‎⁽ᶜ⁾אדיר כָּאֲרזים:	מראֵהו כַּלּבנון		
וכֻלּוֹ מחמַדִּים	חִכּוֹ מַמְתַקִּים	16	XV
בּנות ירושלם:	זה־דודי וזה רֵעי		

‎⁽ᶜ⁾ 15 בחור   12 ⁽ᵇ⁾ על אפיקי מים   5,11 ⁽ᵃ⁾ קְצוֹתיו

ו

5, 2	על־משכבי בלילות	**I**	בקשתי את דודי
	אני ישנה ולבי־ער		קול דודי דופק
	פתחי לי אחתי	**II**	רעיתי יונתי תמתי
	שראשי נמלא טל		קצותי רסיסי לילה:
3	פשטתי את־כתנתי	**III**	איככה אלבשנה
	רחצתי את רגלי		איככה אטנפם:
4	דודי שלח ידו	**IV**	מן החור בדלת
	ומעי המו עלי		נפשי יצאה בדברו:
ה	קמתי אני לפתח׳	**V**	על כפות המנעול
	וידי נטפו מור		ואצבעתי מור עבר:
6	פתחתי אני לדודי	**VI**	ודודי חמק עבר
	בקשתיהו ולא מצאתיהו		קראתיו ולא ענני:׳
8	השבעתי אתכם בנות׳	**VII**	אם תמצאו את־דודי
	מה תגידו לו		שחולת אהבה אני:
6, א	אנה הלך דודך	**VIII**	היפה בנשים
	אנה פנה דודך		ונבקשנו עמך:
5, 9	מה דודך מדוד	**IX**	היפה בנשים
	מה דודך מדוד		שככה השבעתנו

ה,5 (א) לדודי　　　　　　　　　　　　　8 (ז) ירושלם

7　(ג) מצאני (השמרים) הסבבים בעיר
(הכוני פצעוני) נשאו את־רדידי מעלי (שמרי החמות)

ד

I	8,11 כרם• בבעל המון	נתן את־הכרם לנטרים
	איש יבא בפריו	אלף כסף כסן:
II	12 כרמי שלי לפני	ועמו לא־חפצתי בארץ
	האלף לך שלמה	ומאתים לנטרים את־פריו:

III	8,6 משים לשלמה מלכות	ושמנים פילגשים•
	9 אחת־היא יונתי	תמתי אחת־היא
IV	סד־ותד־היא מאמה	בר־ה־היא מ־ילדתה
	ראה בנות ויאשרה	מלכות ופלגשים ויהללה:

ה

I	4,8 אתי מלבנון כלה	אתי מלבנון תבואי	
	תשורי מראש אמנה	מראש שניר וחרמון	
II	ממעמות אריות	מהררי נמרים	
	• • • • • •	• • • • • • •	

ג

7,11; 6,3	אני לדודי ודודי־לי	ואלי תשוקתו:	I
2, א	אני חבצלת השרון	שושנת העמקים:

ה 1,	שחורה אני ונאוה	בנות ירושלם	II
	כאהלי קדר	כיריעות שלמה:

6	אל־תראני שאני שחרחרת	שמזפתני השמש	III
	בני אמי נחרו־בי	שמני נטרה את־הכרמים:

8, 8	אחות לנו קטנה	ושדים אין לה	IV
	מה נעשה לאחתנו	ביום שידבר בה:

9	אם חומה היא	נבנה עליה טירת־כסף	V
	ואם דלת היא	נצור עליה לוח־ארז:

י	אני חומה שד־הנה	ושדי כמגדלות	VI
	אז הייתי בעיניו	כמוצאת שלום:

א	מי יתנך כאח־לי	יונק שדי אמי	VII
	אמצאך בחוץ אשקך	גם־לא יבזו לי:

2	אנהגך אל־בית אמי	ואל־חדר הורתי:	VIII
	אשקך מיין הרקח	מעסיס רמני:

	⁕ ⁕ ⁕ ⁕ ⁕ ⁕	⁕ ⁕ ⁕ ⁕ ⁕ ⁕	IX
	⁕ ⁕ ⁕ ⁕ ⁕ ⁕	⁕ ⁕ ⁕ ⁕ ⁕ ⁕

(a) 7,11; 6,3 הרעה בשושנים	אני לדודי
	כד־רעיתי בין הבנות:
(b) 2,2 כשושנה בין החוחים	
(g) 1,6 כרמי שלי לא־נטרתי	
2,15 אחזו־לנו שעלים	שעלים קטנים
מחבלים כרמים	וכרמינו סמדר:
(d) 1,11 תורי זהב נעשה־לך	עם נקדות הכסף:
(h) 8,2 אביאך	(e) תלמדני
7,13 (w) שם־אתן את־דדי לך	
	רימונו תחבקני:
(z) 3 שמאלו תחת ראשי	
4 השבעתי אתכם בנות (ירושלם)	
מה־תעירו ומה תעררו	את־האהבה עד שתחפץ:

ב

I	6, י	מי־זאת הנשקפה כמו־שחר יפה כלבנה	איטה כנדגלות ברה כחמה:
II	7, א	שובי שובי השׁוּלמית מה תחזו בשׁוּלמית	שובי שובי ונחזה־בך במחלת המחנים:
III	2	מה יפו פעמיך חמוקי ירכיך כמו־חלאים	בנעלים בת נדיב מעשי ידי אמן:
IV	8 6	קומתך דמתה לתמר ראשך עליך ככרמל	ושדיך¹ לאשכלות:² ודלת ראשך כארגמן:³
V	ה	צוארך כמגדל השן אפך כמגדל הלבנון	עיניך ברכות בחשבון⁴ צופה פני דמשק:
VI	י 7	וחכך כיין הטוב¹ מה־יפית ומה נעמת	דובב שפתי ישנים: אהבה בת תענוגים:
VII	3ׁ 3ׁ	בטנך ערמת חטים שרריך אגן הסהר	סוגה בשושנים: אל יחסר המזג:

7,4	(¹) שדיך כשני עפרים	שני תאמי צביה:
9	(²) אמרתי אעלה בתמר־זאת ויהיו־נא שדיך כאשכלות (הגפן)	אחזה בסנסניו וריח אפך כתפוחים:
6	(³) מלך אסור ברהטים	ח (⁴) על־שער בת רבים
י	(⁵) הולך (לדודי) למישרים	

<div align="center">א</div>

א,1 (a) אשר לשלמה

ח,3 (β) מי־זאת עלה מן־המדבר   מתרפקת על דודה:

3, 7 (γ) שלמה

(δ) מנערי ישראל
8   כלם אחזי חרב   מלמדי מלחמה

9 (ε) שלמה

י (ζ) עמודיו עשה כסף   רפידתו זהב

6,12 (η) (לא ידעתי) באה תאות נפשי שמתני מרכבות עם־נדיב:

3,11 (θ) בנות ירושלם   (ι) בנות ציון   שלמה (κ)

THE ASHERAH.

By William Hayes Ward,
New York.

Students of biblical archæology are agreed that the Asherahs, the "groves" of the Received Version, were wooden columns, which were emblems of gods, or accessories to worship; but I believe no careful study of these asherahs has been made from the archæological side. It has hardly occurred to students, in their careless observation of a pillar on a coin or a seal here and there, to differentiate these asherahs, and try to find out whether they differed and how they differed from each other, and how the several gods were represented. It is a partial study of this subject that is proposed here.

We are familiar with the representation in Roman times of certain gods of country life by columns. They are generally called Hermæ, because Hermes was often so represented in this cheap way. The body was a single column, square or round, with no human form, except often the phallus, and it was surmounted by a bearded head of the god. It is such a column that is referred to in one of Virgil's Eclogues, where Thyrsis vows to Priapus, "keeper of a poor garden," that if the produce of the flocks allows, his little marble image shall be exchanged for one of gold.

At the time of the composition of this Hebrew literature which mentions the asherahs, the representation of the columns as altars or as gods was frequent in the art of the neighboring countries. They may be called indifferently columnar altars or columnar idols. Almost every one of the thousands of Assyrian cone seals contains the representation of two or more of these columns. There are certain standard styles of them, but there is very little in their design to indicate to which gods the several columns, or asherahs, belong. There was such a close relationship between the Babylonian (or Assyrian) gods and those of the Mediterranean coasts that, if we can distinguish the columnar emblems of the gods of the Euphrates valley, we shall be able to do the same for those of the Phœnician and Syrian regions.

33

Now, our clue to these has to be gained from those inscribed bas-reliefs, or steles, which contain a number of these emblems.

FIG. 1.—Worshiper before column of Marduk, and emblem of Nin-kharsag. *Metropolitan Museum.*

Some of them are bas-reliefs of Assyrian kings, with a number of emblems near the king's head. Others are funereal tablets containing the symbols of the gods. The larger number are what are called boundary stones, or kudûrus, which are really the records of deeds of grant of land, by kings, to men of note. There is a long inscription which describes the grant, concluding with a curse to be denounced by the gods figured on the stone on anyone who shall alienate the grant or remove the landmark. The upper part of the stone, or one side of it, is devoted to the emblems of these gods. A dozen or two of these boundary stones, from Babylonia or Elam, have been found, and their inscriptions and designs published.

FIG. 2.—Worshiper before column of Marduk.

The usual types of the asherah, as it appears on the Assyrian cone seals and occasionally on the cylinders, will be seen in figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. By far the most frequent forms are the column with a triangular summit, and that of double vertical lines connected by one or more cross-lines. These two forms are usually

found together.   Instead of the triangular summit of the first, a variation more easily engraved generally appears, consisting of a round dot a little below the summit (fig. 5), but the meaning is the same.

The first careful study of the emblems of gods found in connection with the bas-reliefs of the Assyrian kings was made by von Luschan, in a chapter on "The Monolith of Esarhaddon," contained in Heft XI ("Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli") of the *Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen* of the Imperial Museum of Berlin, 1893. This monolith, found at Senjirli, contains twelve figures, or emblems, of gods (fig. 6) just in front of the head of the king, one of the most elaborate of the designs of this sort known.   Other

FIG. 3.—Worshiper before columns of Marduk and Nabu. *Bibliothèque nationale.*

examples generally have a smaller number of emblems.   Four of these emblems are such columns as are found on the cone seals. With this bas-relief von Luschan compares other steles of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Sargon, etc., also the bas-relief of Maltaia, all of which have similar figures.   Of the identification of some of these emblems there can be no doubt.   Thus the crescent is certainly the moon-god Sin, and the star is Ishtar; and there can be no question but that the deity who holds the thunderbolts is Ramman.   We should also naturally conclude that the winged disk represents Assur.   This would account for four out of the twelve figures. We now turn to the accompanying inscription, and we find that the king begins with an invocation to ten gods whom he

FIG. 4.—Worshiper before columns of Marduk and Nabu. *Museum of Avignon.*

specifies, and then groups the rest "ili rabûti kališunu," "the great gods, all of them." The ten gods mentioned are (in order) (1) Assur, (2) Anu, (3) Bel, (4) Ea, (5) Sin, (6) Shamash, (7) Ramman, (8) Marduk, (9) Ishtar, (10) the Seven, the last being the seven Igigi. Besides the seven deities here specified, Nabu is afterward named in connection with Marduk. Inasmuch as among the specified deities are the seven Igigi, it is easy to recognize the seven dots as representing these deities, which gives us five out of the twelve figures which we can recognize, but none of them columns.
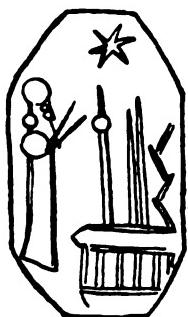
FIG. 5.— Worshiper before columns of Marduk, Nabu, and Ramman. *Metropolitan Museum.*

The inscription gives us hardly any further help, as the order of the figures and the names is evidently not the same, and especially as there are more deities figured than are specifically named in the inscription; and, further, only one goddess, Ishtar, is mentioned, while two appear to be figured, one the star of Ishtar and the other a seated goddess.

Next, von Luschan calls attention to a stele of Assurnazirbal on which are figured five emblems of gods, and on which five gods are invoked. We might naturally presume the five figured to be the same as the five invoked. They are the crescent, Sin; the star, Ishtar; the thunderbolt, Ramman; and also the familiar circle with four rays alternating with four streams, which we know to be Shamash. That leaves the horned hat, which would seem to be Assur, who is named and who had seemed previously to be represented by the winged circle.

In a second stele of Esarhaddon are figured six emblems of gods, and six are mentioned in the accompanying inscription. But the names of the gods and their figures do not correspond, and as none of them are columns we do not need to dwell on them. It would seem that the artist put in the small emblems as he happened to choose, while the scribe selected the names of the two triads of gods, except that Assur takes the place of Anu. Only two of his list appear to be figured.

Yet another stele of Esarhaddon, on the Nahr el-Kelb (fig. 7), shows eight emblems, of which two are columns. Unfortunately, the inscription is imperfectly preserved.

Another case to which von Luschan calls attention is a much more important one. It is the rock-relief of Sennacherib near Bavian (fig. 8). On it are twelve emblems of gods, and the inscription mentions twelve. We have observed that in previous cases there was no care taken to secure correspondence between

FIG. 6.—Upper part of bas-relief of Esarhaddon, Senjirli.

the emblems figured and the names or order of the gods mentioned, so that the list of gods invoked gave little help in identifying the emblems. Those in one category might not appear in the other. The artist of the emblems was not in consultation with the scribe. But in this case there is a correspondence, not observed by von Luschan, but recognized later by Jensen (*Hettiter und Armenier*, p. 143, note). There are twelve emblems, and twelve gods named; and the important fact is that the order in a number of cases is evidently the same. Thus the crescent, Sin, is fifth in both; Ramman's thunderbolt is seventh; the star of Ishtar is eleventh; and the seven dots of the Igigi are twelfth. These coincidences pass quite beyond any law of probabilities, and must be intentional. The one apparent violation of

coincidence is in the case of the god Shamash, who comes sixth in the list of gods. But the sixth emblem is the winged disk, which was supposed to represent usually Assur. It would here seem to represent Shamash; and, indeed, if it represented Assur it ought to hold the place of honor, coming first and not sixth, next after the moon, just as in fig. 6 it came between Sin and Ishtar. We then conclude that the winged disk must have originally represented the sun, and that later it was confined to the representation of Assur. Indeed, for all we know, Assur, who was a new Assyrian god unknown to the Babylonians, may have been originally a sun-god, and so at first identified or confused with Shamash. At any rate, the winged disk here appears to be the emblem of Shamash and not of Assur. Assur ought to have the first place in the designs, as he has in the inscriptions, and in that case he must be represented here by the first of the horned hats, or turbans.

We have, then, good reason to recognize the coincidence in the order of all those emblems that we know with the gods enumerated; and it follows that all the twelve emblems can be identified. The order is as follows:

1.	Horned turban	= Assur
2.	" "	= Anu
3.	" "	= Bel
4.	Column with ram's head	= Ea
5.	Crescent	= Sin
6.	Winged disk	= Shamash
7.	Thunderbolt	= Ramman
8.	Column with pineapple top	= Marduk
9.	Simple (double ?) column	= Nabu
10.	Column with two bulls' (lions' ?) heads	= (Nergal ?)
11.	Star	= Ishtar
12.	Seven dots	= Igigi

In the above list the order has been followed both of the emblems and the gods specified. The name of the god No. 10 is illegible, but is probably Nergal. But the bas-relief is not always plain, and I presume, from comparison with other monuments, the emblem for No. 10 should be drawn with two lions' heads instead of bulls' heads. Also, the emblem No. 9 should doubtless be made double, like the two narrow columns seen in figs. 3, 4, 5, instead of a single wider column.

We thus have gained knowledge of twelve emblems of gods (three of them identical horned hats, or turbans), of which five are columns, or asherahs; and these columns are so differentiated as to represent the five gods Ea, Ramman, Marduk, Nabu, and probably Nergal.

Now comes another very important step in the identification or corroboration of these emblems. We have considered the cone seals as figured in Assyrian or later art; and also the bas-reliefs of Assyrian kings, with their accompanying emblems.
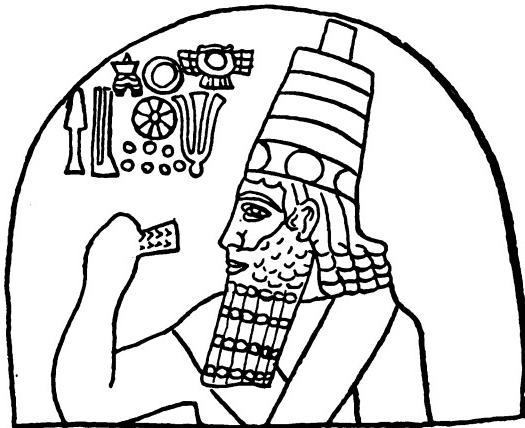
Fig. 7.—Upper part of stele of Esarhaddon at Nahr el-Kelb.

But these emblems were evidently borrowed, with variations, from the accepted Babylonian emblems of the gods, as found scattered on the seal-cylinders, but gathered in numbers on the so-called boundary stones, or kudûrus. While Hommel and others have given some attention to them, and the accompanying inscriptions have been translated by Oppert and his successors, the figures themselves have not received the study they deserve, as they are very difficult to understand. But a late study of a number of kudûrus by M. J. de Morgan gives us new light. In a late volume of his "Mémoires," the *Recherches archéologiques, 1900,* giving the account of the diggings at Susa in 1897–99, is given, pp. 165–80, a chapter on twelve kudûrus found by de Morgan at Susa. Some of these are fragmentary, but others are among the finest that have yet been discovered. One (fig. 9) is of especial value, because it actually gives us, in a little epigraph

against each emblem, the name of the god, which finally settles
the matter. Unfortunately, not all the names are legible. De
Morgan, writing at Susa, without access to other material, and
apparently having no knowledge of von Luschan's studies or
Jensen's identifications, writes quite independently.

As I am here concerned chiefly with the columnar emblems,
I will not go into a full discussion of these various emblems, but
simply call attention to the fact that they fully corroborate the
conclusions drawn from a study of the bas-relief of Bavian.
There is, of course, no winged disk, which is an Assyrian device,
probably borrowed from Egypt at the time of the invasions of
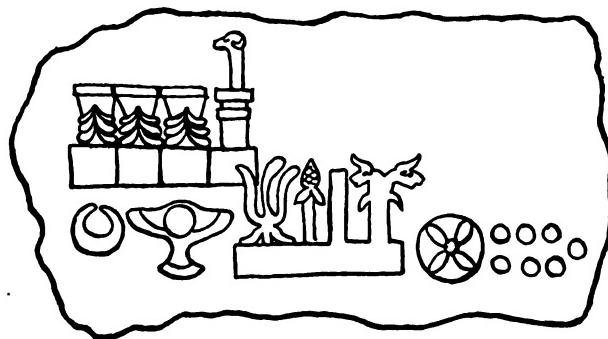
FIG. 8.—Rock-relief of Bavian.

the Eighteenth Dynasty, and modified by the omission of the
asps. Shamash is represented by his familiar Babylonian emblem,
the circle with four included rays of light alternating with four
streams of water. Ishtar is, of course, the star. The seated god-
dess is Gula, identical with Bau. We had concluded that among
the columnar gods the ram's head on the column represented Ea,
although it seemed strange that he should be crowded out of the
triad of gods represented by the horned turbans in order to
make room for Assur, who precedes Anu. But this subordinate
position, and the representation of Ea by a ram's head, is here
justified, as Ea is represented in the same way by a ram's head
on a column. But the column stands on a square shrine, or ark,
under which is the fish-tailed capricorn of Ea, and the name dis-
tinctly written. The name of Marduk, another god whom we
might have expected to be represented with more dignity, is
also distinctly inscribed on his column, which gives us a sort of
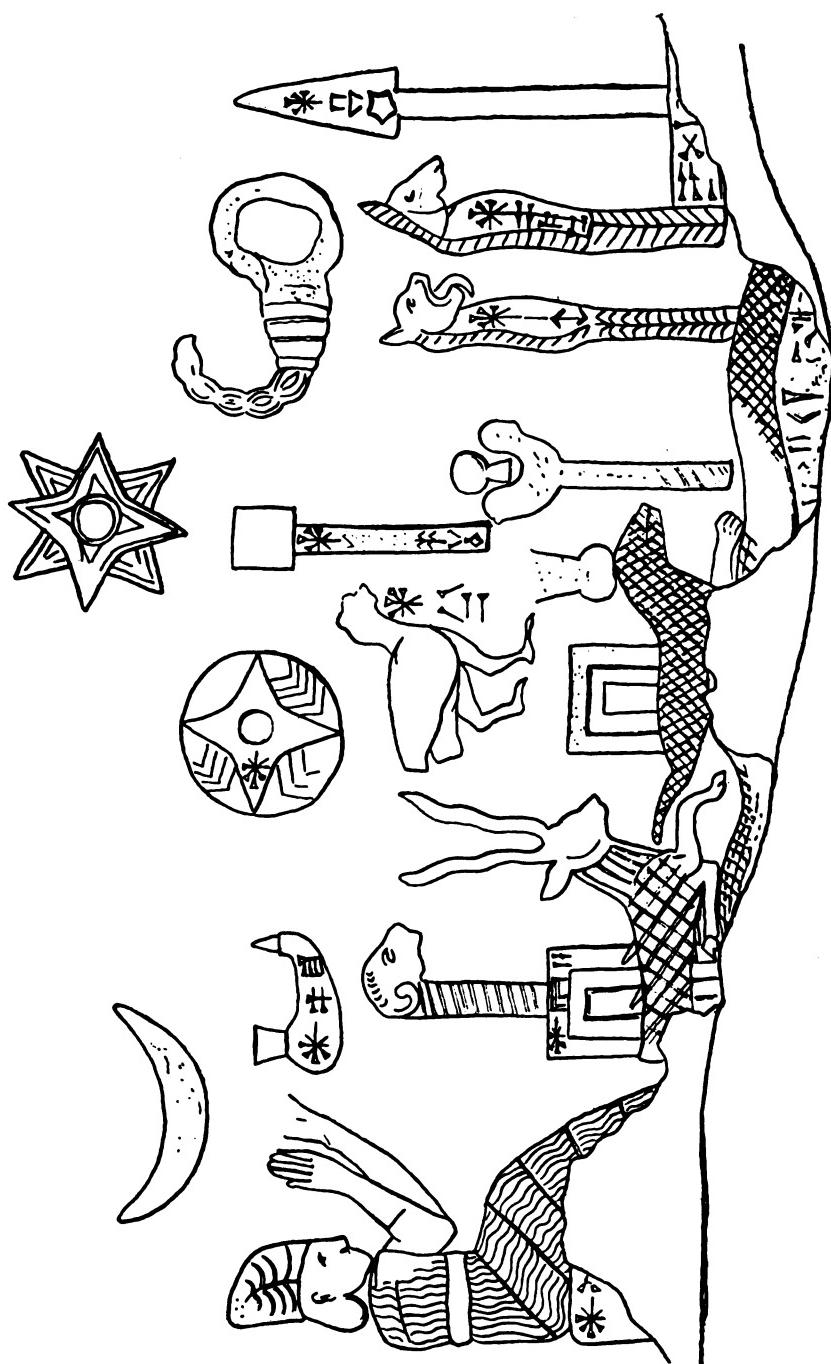
FIG. 9.—Fragment of boundary stone found at Susa.

lance-head, evidently corresponding with the emblem identified as that of Marduk on the Bavian bas-relief. The original idea is possibly that of a triangular pointed flame on the top of a column, but more likely a lance-head which is sometimes developed to a sort of pineapple, as in fig. 8, and sometimes reduced to a round dot, as in fig. 5. This kudûru also gives the names of four other deities, Gula, Zamama, Sukumuna, and Nusku, whom we do not find on the relief of Bavian.

The most elaborate of the boundary stones yet found is seen in fig. 10, found by de Morgan at Susa. On this eight columns appear, but the inscription gives us no further identification of them. It does, however, enable us to identify the emblem to the right of Ea, in the upper register, as that of Ninkharsag, or Belit.

The usual columns representing gods are thus distinguished and identified by the bas-relief of Bavian and the boundary stone of Susa. They are Ea, Ramman, Marduk, Nabu, and probably Nergal. The other emblems do not now concern us, and a number of them, owing to the illegibility of the epigraphs, are still uncertain. We may fairly presume that such columns as these, familiar in use and art from Elam to the Assyrian border, and from probably 1500 B. C. to 200 B. C. or later, were well known, with their variations, over Phœnicia and Palestine, and were objects of worship. Made of wood, they would not be preserved, and the representations we have of columns are chiefly of twin columns of a different sort, such as maẓẓeboth, in temples and figured on small coins. The column, or asherah, mainly in use- would have represented the one sun-god Marduk, or Baal, under his various forms, and would have been easily cut in wood. Nine-tenths of the cone seals with figures of columns have the two columns of Marduk and his attendant Nabu, both easily engraved on stone or cut in wood. The worship of Ea or Nergal we should hardly expect to be usual in Phœnicia or Palestine; but that of Ramman, the Syrian Adad, would be familiar. His emblem, the thunderbolt, a zigzag trident or bident on a column, is not at all frequent on cone seals, and could not be conveniently cut on them, as it could not be hewn in wood. It would require a metal attachment on a wooden column. At present we must satisfy ourselves with the conclusion that within the extent of the Assyrian empire the asherahs represented individual gods,
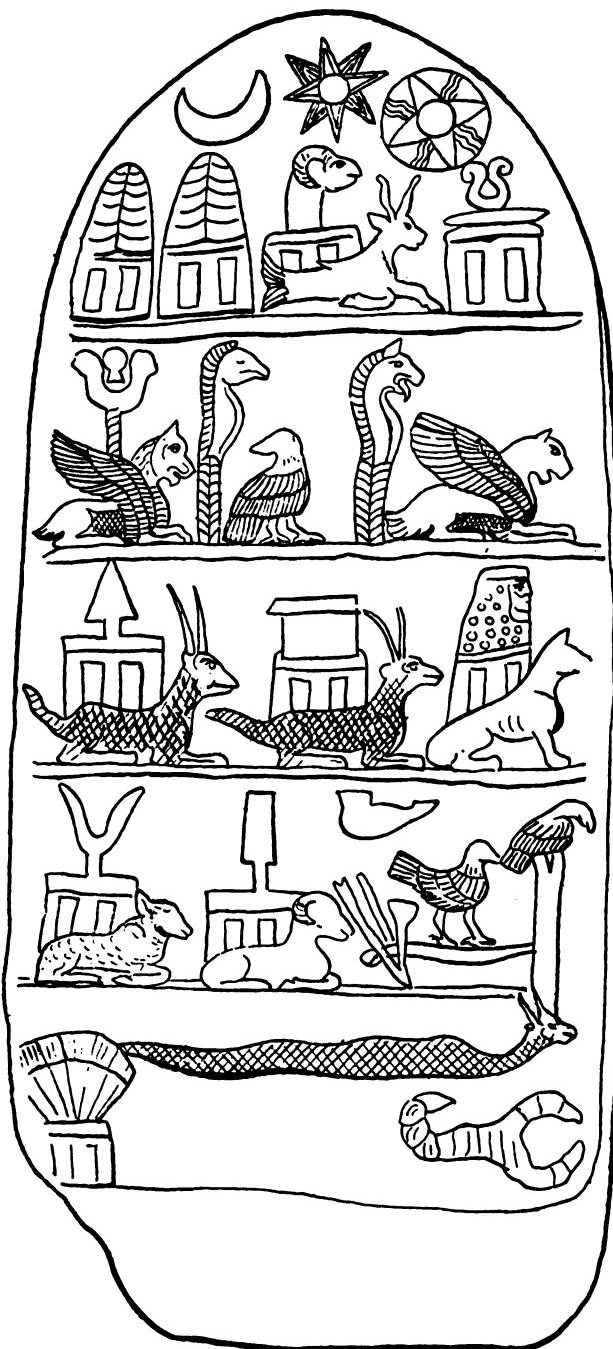
FIG. 10.—Boundary stone from Susa.

and the presumption that such was the case with those of Pales-
tine in the time of the later Jewish kingdom. The various
conjectures are far from probable which make the asherahs sym-
bols of Ashtoreth, or of a supposed goddess Asherah, or give
them a phallic origin; or even that of Robertson Smith, that
they are a relic of earlier tree-worship. For their origin we
have to go to Assyria, and thence back to Babylonia, as far, at
least, as the time of the Kassite dynasty, in the middle of the
second chiliad B. C.

NOTES ON SEMITIC GRAMMAR.

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III.

AN ABNORMAL HEBREW FORM.

Amos 9:1 we read in the ordinary texts וּבְצַעַם, while Baer as well as Ginsberg print וּבְצָעַם. The ָ is attested by Ibn Ğanāḥ (*Lex.*, *s. v.*) and Ḳimḥī (*Miklōl*, ed. Rittenberg, 26*b*). The form is abnormal: we should expect וּבְצָעֵם (the imperative is evidently intended by the punctuation). The current grammars offer, to my mind, no satisfactory explanation of the form. *Cf.* König, *Lehrgeb.*, Vol. I, pp. 296 *sq.* König's opinion is reproduced by Kautzsch in the last (27th) edition of the *Hebräische Grammatik* (§ 61*g*): "die Zurückziehung des Tons, welche den Übergang des ē in ă bewirkt hat, ist wohl mit *König* als sog. *nasog 'achor* zu erklären." Both König and Kaútzsch overlook the pausal (disjunctive) accent (ָ). How is it possible in such a case to speak of נָסוֹג אָחוֹר ?

In Arabic, as is well known, the pronominal suffixes are appended to the unchanged verbal forms, *e. g.*, ḳatala-ka, ịaḳtulu-ka, ịaḳtula-ka, etc. Of verbs not belonging to the class third *u* or *i* there are three forms which terminate in a consonant, viz.: the third person fem. sing. of the perfect (ḳatalat-ka), the apocopated form of the imperfect (including the imperative, which is nothing but the apocopated form minus the prefix) in all forms without afformatives (ịaḳtul-ka, uḳtul-nī), and the second energetic (ịaḳtulan-ka). In the same manner ("without a connecting vowel," according to the antiquated terminology of our grammars; see Gesen.-Kautzsch, § 58*f*) the suffixes are appended in Hebrew to the first of the three forms (קְטָלַתְנִי, קְטָלַתְךָ, etc.); with the third grammarians rightly identify the Hebrew forms with the s. c. energetic nūn (Gesen.-Kautzsch, § 58*i*), where again the suffixes are

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appended exactly in the same manner as in Arabic (יְבָרֲכֶנְהוּ = iubaṛikan-hu). The third person plur. indicat. of the imperfect (Arab. ịaḳtulūna), in the few examples where Hebrew has retained the fuller form,[1] either preserves the final vowel in front of the pronominal suffixes,[2] or permits it to disappear, the suffixes joining directly to the closing consonant exactly in the same fashion as in the case of the two forms mentioned above.[3] Are there to be found in Hebrew examples of the second of the three forms with consonantal termination, of the apocopated form, i. e., jussives or imperatives with suffixes joined directly to the closing consonant?[4] Certainly. In the first place, וִיבֶדְךָ

[1] In the majority of cases, the shorter form corresponding to the subjunctive and apocopated in Arabic (ịaḳtulū) is in use.

[2] The only examples are: וּתְדַכְּאוּנָנִי Job 19:2 (to be explained as a *forma mixta* = (1) וּתְדַכְּאוּנַנִי without gemination = Arab. ụa-tudaki'ūna-nī, (2) וּתְדַכְּאֻנַּנִי with gemination and short vowel = Arab. ụa-tudaki'uṇa-nī (first energetic)) and יְלַכְּדֻנְיוֹ Prov. 5:22 (the correctness of the consonantal text may be doubted), which corresponds to Arab. ịalkudūna-hu as קְטָלוּ to Arab. ḳatala-hu.

[3] E. g., יְשְׁחָרֻנְּנִי, רְשָׁאוּנְךָ, etc.; see Gesen.-Kautzsch, § 60e. The ◌ֻ in יְשְׁרָתוּנְךָ is not a "connecting vowel," as Kautzsch expressly tells us, but a "parasitic vowel" (Sweet, *An Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 1894, § 38) or "helping vowel" (so correctly Stade, § 634b) of the same kind as the ◌ֻ in אֲהֵבְתָךָ or תָּרָךְ, תָּרָךְ, for יְשְׁרָתוּנְךָ is the older יְשְׁרָתוּנְכָר. Accordingly, the ◌ֻ in the latter form is, to use the current terminology, "silent" (""שְׁרָא quiescens," Gesen.-Kautzsch, § 10i). Consistently, the ◌ֻ in רְשָׁאוּנְךָ should be considered as "silent" and not be placed on a level with the ◌ֻ in יְלָדַךְ (Stade, § 633a and in a private communication dated April 25, 1902). In the first place, the difference in the position of the accent should be noted. Secondly, observe that, while יְלָדַךְ becomes in pause יְלָדָךְ, רְשָׁאוּנְךָ is a pausal form. Hence the latter form should be placed on a footing with אֲהֵבְתָךָ. The following table will illustrate the difference between יְלָדַךְ יְלַכְּדֻנוֹ on the one hand and אֲהֵבְתָךָ רְשָׁאוּנְךָ on the other:

רְשָׁאוּנֶנִּי	אֲהֵבְתַנִי	יְלַכְּדוּ נָנִי	יְלָדַנִי
רְשָׁאֻנּוּ	אֲהֵבְתָנוּ	יְלַכְּדוּ נָנוּ	יְלָדָנוּ
רְשָׁאוּנְךָ	אֲהֵבְתֶךָ	יְלַכְּדוּנְךָ, ◌ֶךָ	יְלָדֶךָ, ◌ַךָ
רְשָׁאוּנְכִי	אֲהֵבְתֶכִי	יְלַכְּדוּ נָכִי, ◌ַךָ	יְלָדֶכִי, ◌ַךְ
רְשָׁאֻנֶךָ	אֲהֵבְתֶךָ		
רְשָׁאֻנְהוּ	אֲהֵבְתַתְהוּ	יְלַכְּדָנוֹ	יְלָדוֹ
רְשָׁאֻנְהָ	אֲהֵבְתָהּ	יְלַכְּדָהָ	יְלָדָהּ
רְשָׁאֻנְכְמוֹ	אֲהֵבְתָכְמוֹ	יְלַכְּדוּנְּמוֹ, ◌ַם	יְלָדָמוֹ, ◌ַם
רְשָׁאֻנְכֶם	אֲהֵבְתָכֶם		

[4] The ordinary forms show a vowel in front of the suffix, e. g., אַל־תַּשְׁלִיכֵנִי Ps. 51:13 (but וַתַּשְׁלֵךְ Ps. 50:17), הַשְׁלִיכֵהוּ Exod. 4:3 (but הַשְׁלֵךְ Ps. 55:23). The finals ◌ֵ, ◌ֶ in the imperfect before suffixes are correctly explained by Praetorius (*ZDMG.*, Vol. LV (1901), p. 362) as analogical importations from verbs third י (so also by Kautzsch, § 58f, footnote, and by Stade in the communication referred to). This view is easily confirmed by the ◌ֵ, which is not to be derived from ◌ֵ, but from the diphthong aị through loss of the consonant element. מַרְאֶ(י)הָ is not parallel to מַרְאֵהוּ, but to מַרְאָיו for מַרְאָ(י)הוּ, just as

Deut. 32:7 (a voluntative with weak *waw*, Driver, *Tenses*, 3d ed.,
§§ 64 *sqq.*, is syntactically required: "that he may tell thee").
Then, תְּכַבְּדְךָ Prov. 4:8 (the choice of the jussive is to be under-
stood in accordance with §§ 150 *sqq.* of Driver's book). Thirdly,
the present form וּבְצַעַם is absolutely normal. It stands for the
older וּבְצַעֲמוֹ exactly as וַהֲרַגְתֶּם Amos 9:4 for the older וַהֲרַגְתְּמוֹ;
cf. עֲנָקַתְמוֹ Ps. 73:6. That is to say, the suffix is added to the
imperative terminating in a consonant. The present vowel (־ֱ)
in front of the suffix is to be explained exactly as the identical
vowel in the same position in וַהֲרַגְתֶּם, *i. e.*, as a "parasitic"
vowel. *Cf.* also the biblical Aramaic form הַעֶלְנִי Dan. 2:24
(not understood by Marti, § 50, rem. 2; correctly explained by
Praetorius, *ZDMG.*, Vol. LV (1901), p. 359, who also refers to
targumic examples).

Forms with a consonantal stem-final preceding the pronominal
suffixes may be found in another province of the Hebrew verb.
The verbs of the class third *u̯* or *i̯* present in Arabic long vowels
in the stem-final of the indicative of the imperfect; the vowels
naturally remain before suffixes. In Hebrew, the stem-final *ā*
(in the usual fashion, of course, *å̄*, *i. e.*, ־ֹה) may still be seen in
the s. c. infinitive construct (which is nothing but the bare stem
of the imperfect), thus רְאֹה Gen. 48:11, etc. (Gesen.-Kautzsch,
§ 75n).[4] Elsewhere, we find in Hebrew a vowel originating
in an older diphthong (ai̯).[6] Now, a (falling) diphthong is a

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הָהֳרִים corresponds to הֳהֹר. The present finals have evidently supplanted the old finals
which are preserved in (classical) Arabic. What the final vowel was, is of no importance
for our present investigation; we are solely interested in its presence or absence. Arabic
drops the vowel in jussives and imperatives before suffixes; Hebrew does not. Of the two
procedures, the Arabic is the less correct. Since the suffixes and the verbal form coalesce
so as to form a unit, the final vowel of the stem should be protected from loss in spite of the
hurried pronunciation due to the "interjectional" accent of jussives and imperatives and
the enclitic accent of the "conjunct" imperfect (commonly called imperfect with *waw* con-
secutive; on the terms "interjectional" and "conjunct" see on the one hand Wundt,
Völkerpsychologie, I, 1, pp. 305–8, and on the other Brugmann, *Grundriss d. vergl.
Grammat. der idg. Sprachen*, II, 2, p. 974, rem.). The truth is that in the forms with
vocalic loss the suffixes are appended to the ready-made "apocopatus." 'amit, הֵמָת
and הֵמִיתַנִי are co-ordinate forms; 'amit-ni is a descendant of 'amit.

[5] גְּלוֹת is גְּלוֹ+ת, *i. e.*, the feminine form of the infinitive. Hence there existed
primitively an imperfect יִגְלוֹ.

[6] ־ֹה for ־וֹ in occasional forms (see Gesen.-Kautzsch, § 75AA) and regularly in the
imperative. The usual ־ֶה of the imperfect represents an older ־ֶן ~ ־ֶי (the same phonetic
phenomenon is met with in the vowel preceding the energetic nûn) which goes back to
primitive -an, *i. e.*, ā+nûnation (even Arabic has lost trace of this form). ｊａｋｔｕｌｕ
should be traced to an older *ｊａｋｔｕｌｕｎ. The evidence may be found in the plural of the
indicative which terminates in -ûna, and not in -û, while in the perfect to the plural in
-û properly corresponds in the singular a form without nûnation. Thus, the nominal
character of the Semitic imperfect is proved from an entirely new point of view.

syllable in which a sonant (syllabic) vowel is followed by a consonant (non-syllabic) vowel. We are therefore justified in considering the stem-finals in forms like *iaglau-, *iaglai- as consonantal. Wherever the diphthong remains uncontracted (so probably in רִעֲבֵּ֫ך, אֲשַׁבֵּ֫ך Mêša', 5, 6), the forms with suffixes will necessarily present the same appearance as in the examples quoted above. Such a form is אֲרַיְוֵךְ Isa. 16:9 (for an older אֲרַיְוֵ֫ךְ). Now, the received order of consonants (רי) is probably wrong; it has been proposed to read אֲרִיְךְ (see Cheyne, *SBOT.*, p. 121). But the vocalization אֲרַיְוֵךְ, which is carried from commentary to commentary and from grammar to grammar (see Gesen.-Kautzsch, § 75dd), is no less an error than if we were to vocalize בֵּ֫יִח on the pattern of בֵּ֫יִח.[7] Of course, the proper vocalization is אֲרַיְוֵ֫ךְ (König, Vol. I, p. 589, arrives at his אֲרַיְוֵ֫ךְ by a different road).

The following table may serve to illustrate the similarity in the formation of the above-mentioned verbal forms with consonantal finals in front of pronominal suffixes:

יִדְּגֵ֫נִי	וִיעַגְּבֵ֫נִי	וּבְצַעֲנֵ֫י	רִעֵּ֫דֵנִי	יִשְׁאָגֵ֫נִי	יְבָרֲכֵ֫נִי	אֲדִּבֵתֵ֫נִי
יִדְּגֵ֫נוּ	וִיעַגְּבֵ֫נוּ	וּבְצַעֲנֵ֫נוּ	רִעֵּ֫דֵנוּ	יִשְׁאָגֵ֫נוּ	יְבָרֲכֵ֫נוּ	אֲדִּבֵתֵ֫נוּ
אֲרַיְגֵ֫ך	וִיעַגְּבֵ֫ך	—	רִעֵּ֫דֵך	יִשְׁאָגֵ֫ך	יְבָרֲכֵ֫ך , ־ֵ֫ך	אֲדִּבֵתֵ֫ך
אֲרַיְגֵ֫כִי	וִיעַגְּבֵ֫כִי	—	רִעֵּ֫דֵכִי	יִשְׁאָגֵ֫כִי	יְבָרֲכֵ֫כִי	אֲדִּבֵתֵ֫כִי
אֲרַיְגֵ֫ך	וִיעַגְּבֵ֫ך	—	רִעֵּ֫דֵך	יִשְׁאָגֵ֫ך	יְבָרֲכֵ֫ך	אֲדִּבֵתֵ֫ך
אֲרַיְגֵ֫יהוּ	וִיעַגְּבֵ֫הוּ	וּבְצַעֲדוּ	רִעֵּ֫דֵוֹ	יִשְׁאָגֵ֫וֹ	יְבָרֲכֵ֫הוּ , ־֫וֹ	אֲדִּבֵתֵ֫הוּ , ־֫וֹ
אֲרַיְגֵ֫יה	וִיעַגְּבֵ֫ה	וּבְצַעֲה	רִעֵּ֫דֵה	יִשְׁאָגֵ֫ה	יְבָרֲכֵ֫ה , ־֫ה	אֲדִּבֵתֵ֫ה , ־֫ה
אֲרַיְגֵ֫ימוֹ	וִיעַגְּבֵ֫מוֹ	וּבְצַעֲמוֹ	רִעֵּ֫דֵמוֹ	יִשְׁאָגֵ֫מוֹ	יְבָרֲכֵ֫מוֹ	אֲדִּבֵתֵ֫מוֹ
אֲרַיְגֵ֫ים	וִיעַגְּבֵ֫ם	וּבְצַעֲם	רִעֵּ֫דֵם	יִשְׁאָגֵ֫ם	יְבָרֲכֵ֫ם	אֲדִּבֵתֵ֫ם

[7] It may not be out of place to correct a similar oversight in Lagarde's emendation, יְרֹעֵעוּ, Isa. 15:5 (*Prophetae chald.*, p. il), which has passed into Cheyne's "Isaiah" (*SBOT.*). Of course, point יְרֹעֵ֫עוּ.

Critical Notes.

A PSALMIST'S EPITHALAMION.

The 45th psalm is a nuptial ode and has been the object of reverent contemplation from earliest times. The Christian mystic finds in it brilliant messianic anticipations and grounds his faith in a use made of quotations from it by the author of the Hebrews. The litterateur discovers "a poem of lofty and elegant diction." Every reader feels the charm of its gorgeous descriptions and the all-pervading enthusiasm which abounds in the poem. Whatever judgment may be made relative to the first portion of the psalm, it is most evident that at vs. 9 the marriage song begins. Professor Briggs regards the first part as portraying "the glories of the bridegroom." The psalm is by no means a single production. Indeed, the rhythm of the first portion is distinct and different from that of the second. The first part has the movement of a victorious pæan; the second is tuned to the measures of nuptial music. Some editor of the temple songs joined them together in order to celebrate the messianic king of Judah. "The psalm was expounded of the Messiah by the Targum and many Jewish scholars."

The second part, beginning with vs. 9, is at least a fragment of a marriage ode; and it is a right question to investigate what part of this ode is here retained. Who was the bride? Professor Cheyne sets forth the view of Hitzig, adding his own much more valuable suggestions.[1] He says: "Obviously the subject of the poem is the marriage of a great and warlike king . . . . and if we explain 'daughter of Tyre' (vs. 13) as a vocative, it determines the queen to be a Tyrian princess. Let us first of all accept this view of vs. 13. Among all the kings of Israel and Judah the only one whom we know to have been married to a Phœnician princess is Ahab (1 Kings 16:31). This is pointed out by Hitzig. Like the hero of our psalm, Ahab was a lover of luxury and built himself an ivory palace." This we accept as the occasion which called forth this nuptial ode.

The poem beyond doubt is much confused in our text. Professor Cheyne says: "The nuptial dress is described in vs. 9; then out of its natural order, his entrance into his palace." In vs. 8 he not only finds this inversion of the natural order, but also in vss. 14–16. We may then, simply as a critical essay, restore a natural arrangement and then see what is lacking, if anything, in order to make a complete poem. There

[1] [This view was presented by Cheyne in *The Book of Psalms* (1888); in his more recent work, *The Origin of the Psalter* (1891), pp. 144–6, 166–71, he places the psalm in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus; but in *The Christian Use of the Psalms* (1899), p. 155, this latter view is abandoned.—EDITORS.]

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is a description, more or less complete, of the bride's dress (vss. 8, 13);
also a description of a company moving to a temple (vss. 14, 15) and an
entrance into the temple (vs. 15); also the good will of the poet (vs. 10).
If now we point the possessive pronouns of vss. 3, 8 as feminine, we shall
have a description of the bride's personal attractions.

In seeking to restore, as perfectly as may be, this beautiful ode, the
right of transpositions of sentences only is assumed. Several new read-
ings are given in order to perfect the piece; but these are not changes
of letters, simply a division of a word into two others, they having been
run together in the editing of the temple-songs. Following these prin-
ciples, the following poem may be constructed (references are to the
English Bible):

I.

[2] Very fair art thou among Adam's children;
[2] Grace is molded in thy lips;
[12] Every glory is in thy perfections:
[11] Therefore the people praise thee,
[11] And the king desires thy beauty.

II.

[12] Thy vesture is golden,
[12] Pearls amid its texture,
[8] Myrrh and aloes (amid) its foldings;
[8] And thou makest all perfect thy garments.
[12] The rich of the people await thee.

III.

[9] Daughters of kings in costly apparel,
[9] Their waists with gold of Ophir,
[14] These maidens are adorned for thee;
[8] They make thee glad with stringed music,
[9] And standing at thy right hand is thy consort.

IV.

[15] Let them move on with joy and gladness
[8] Out from the ivory palace:
[14] Let her move on before the gay-clad throng,
[14] Her companions behind her,
[14] Unto the king.

V.

[15] Let them enter the temple of the king;
[12] And, daughter of Tyre,
[12] With a thank-offering, thy face
[11] Bow down to him;
[11] For he is thy Adonay.

VI.

[10] Hearken, daughter, and consider,
[10] And incline thine ear,
[10] Forget thy people and thy father's house:
[16] Instead of thy father shall be thy children,
[16] And thou shalt place them princes in the land.

In the first strophe the pronouns are regarded as feminine. In the third line a new division of the words is made, viz., vs. 14:

$$\text{כל־כבודה בתום לך}$$

In the second strophe, second line, פְּנִינִים is accepted[2] as a corrected reading for פְּנִימָה. The third and fourth lines are read as follows:

$$\text{מר־ואהלות קציע}$$
$$\text{ותכלי בגדתיך:}$$

This division eliminates the word "cassia" of the English Bible, always a stumbling-block. The word קציע is translated "foldings." The root is rare; Gesenius refers it to the incurvings in architectural works. The first three lines of the third strophe read as follows in the restored poem:

$$\text{בנות מלכים ביקר}$$
$$\text{ותוך בכתם אופיר}$$
$$\text{בתולות מובאות לך:}$$

The word תוך is rendered "waist." Beyond these changes few are made that are not recognized by critics.

The lyric form of this marriage ode is a five-line strophe with three tones in the line, except where the feeling of joy gives place to that of reverent instruction in the last two strophes. The poet's art is exquisite. He sees the lips of the bride as the molds for grace. His description of her mantling is scarcely to be equaled in literature. One thinks of the golden glory of the daisy, circled with its pearl-white rays. And his costly vestured company of kings' daughters, her attendants, with their girdles of gold, reminds one of an eastern sunset, when bars of gold break through the colored splendors of the clouds. Apart from the interest which this marriage ode has as a most perfect type of Hebrew lyric poetry, the picture it gives of the life of Israel in the time of Ahab is of greatest value. Above King Ahab was the greater king whose throne was in His temple. Nor can anything be more delicate and beautiful than the poet's counsel to the bride to let Tyre's faith be supplanted by the faith of Israel, and to make this vow while she stood, surrounded by the splendors of her bridal retinue, within the precincts of the temple of God who was King in Israel.

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[2] So Krochmal, Graetz, Cheyne, Wellhausen, et al.

EMENDATIONS IN THE TEXT OF THE BOOK OF JOB.

8:8, 9.—Bickell and others strike out vs. 9 because it interrupts vss. 8 and 10. Vs. 9 is neither a gloss nor is it an utterance of Job; it is simply misplaced. Read, therefore, vss. 8a, 9, 8b, and omit כִּי at the beginning of vs. 8 LXX^A. Read מִתְּמוֹל, Olsh. *et al.*, instead of תְּמוֹל in vs. 9.

8:14.—The phrase אֲשֶׁר־יָקוֹט כִּסְלוֹ is very difficult. According to vs. 14b one would expect a noun for the second word of vs. 14a. However, the mistake must not be sought alone in יָקוֹט, but also in אֲשֶׁר. I propose to read אֵפֶר וָבֹרִץ = "ashes and mire." אֵפֶר as a figure of worthlessness is not unknown to the writer of Job. In 13:12 we have the phrase מִשְׁלֵי־אֵפֶר = "proverbs of ashes." In Isa. 44:20 רֹעֶה־אֵפֶר both expressions imply something which is unreal, unstable. בֹרִץ occurs only in Jer. 38:22, where it is used in its literal sense. But there can be no doubt that it was also used in a figurative sense the same as טִיט. The poet may have used בֹרִץ because he used בִּצָּה = "swamp" in vs. 11. We gain thus a complete parallelism. The figure in vs. 14a is that of a man walking on such an insecure foundation as one formed by loose ashes and mire, swamp; in vs. 14b the man is leaning for support against something which he believes to be strong and firm, but that also gives way like the delicate threads of a spider's net. Thus it stands with the confidence and hope of the evildoer.

13:28—14:1.—13:28 instead of וְהוּא, which cannot be explained satisfactorily, read וְהִנֵּה and introduce 14:1 with כִּי, LXX.

14:10 sqq.—Job contrasts in vss. 7–12 the fate of man with that of other creations of Eloah, viz.: in vss. 7–9 with that of the tree, and in vs. 11 with that of the sea and the river. The poet speaks in vss. 10 and 12 of the entire disappearance of the individual man: when he dies he is gone forever; when he lies down it is never to rise again. This statement is cut in two by vs. 11, which, according to its Massoretic pointing, gives an unsatisfactory sense and does not stand in any connection with either vs. 10 or vs. 12. Studer, Bickell, *et al.* strike it out, but unjustly. The verse belongs before vs. 10, and it is another illustration by which the poet wants to bring out the contrast between the fate of man and that of other of Eloah's creations. Read, therefore, in vs. 11 וְיָשֻׁב instead of וְיָבֵשׁ. This is the meaning of the passage: The trees, though cut off, sprout again, vss. 7–9; though the waters run from the sea, yet (this is the implication) the sea is not exhausted, it still continues to exist; though the river dries up, it (*i. e.*, its floods) nevertheless returns. But how different with man: vs. 10, he dies and is gone; vs. 12, he lies down and rises no more. Everything returns but man.

14:22.—For וְנַפְשׁוֹ עָלָיו, which defies explanation, read וְנַפְשׁוֹ לוֹ. עָלָיו is due to a scribal error.

19:20.—Instead of בְּעוֹר שִׁנָּי read וְעוֹד חַי. This phrase contains a threat of Job against his friends, and expresses at the same time a

resignation to his fate. Though everybody has forsaken him, and he is a physical wreck himself, vs. 20a, he will fight to the last for his right, as long as there is still a spark of life in him. Death is not far off; he knows it; he has barely escaped immediate death, but, yet alive, he is determined to make the best of the little space of time left to him. This seems to me to be the interpretation of this otherwise so unintelligible passage.

19:29.—The 𝔐 offers a good many difficulties. Besides the difficulty which the last word of vs. 29b offers, the principal mistake seems to be in vs. 29aβ. I propose to read after מִפְּנֵי־חֶרֶב instead of כִּי־חֵמָה פֶּן־תֶּאְשָׁמוּ : עֲנוֹת חֶרֶב = "lest ye become guilty;" and follow Budde in reading יֵשׁ דִּין for שׁדִין.

21:16.—Instead of מֵפִי read מִפְּרֶם as in Job 11:20. The error is doubtless due to a copyist. This agrees with the plural suffixes of vs. 16a.

21:17.—Instead of חֲבָלִים read חֶבְלֵיהֶם. 𝔄* has ωδινες αυτοις. We should expect a suffix because אֵיד has also the suffix.

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SOME TEXTUAL NOTES ON PROVERBS.

6:26a. כִּי בְעַד אִשָּׁה זוֹנָה עַד כִּכַּר לֶחֶם.—This is not the end of a in the Massoretic text, but it is generally recognized that it should be. The difficulty in obtaining any tolerable meaning from this passage is well known, and also the awkwardness of the phraseology. Many attempts at textual emendation have been made, which need not be enumerated. I suggest the reading כִּי בָעַר אֵשׁ הַזּוֹנָה עַד כִּכַּר לֶחֶם. The only change in the consonantal text is the slight change of ד to ר. The article in הַזּוֹנָה is the generic article. Instead of בָּעַר, בָּעֵר might be read, but the perfect seems better, as the perfect of experience. The rendering would then be: "For the fire of a harlot consumes, even unto a piece of bread." The meaning would be: the destructiveness of the harlot, indicated by fire, continues to operate until the man affected is reduced to a morsel of bread. The parallelism is synonymous, a indicating the destitution caused by the destructive activity of a harlot, and b the danger to life by reason of an adulteress, presented by the use of a different figure. This reading provides a verb in a, and thus removes the elliptical and awkward form of expression, while it gives a natural meaning in the connection. It is favored by the fact that the use of the same figure, fire, in speaking of harlots, is continued in vss. 27, 28.

13:23a. רֹב אֹכֶל נִיר רָאשִׁים.—The difficulty in rendering this passage is well known, and some corrections have been made. I suggest the reading רַב אֹכֶל נִיר רָאשִׁים, the only change being in the vowels. This follows the reading of 𝔄. In b I would follow the rendering of Frankenberg,[1] and render the verse: "The great man eats of the

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[1] *Die Sprüche* ("Handkommentar zum Alten Testament"), p. 85.

newly tilled land of the poor; And wealth is accumulated by injustice." This gives without difficulty a connected meaning to the verse. The parallelism is synonymous. The verse gives the result of observation, without comment. The thought in *a* is that the great ones oppress the poor, eating even the product of the land which they have just begun to cultivate; in *b* a more general thought in the same line is presented, that wealth is often gathered by injustice.

19:27.—The difficulty with the thought of this verse is so well known that the necessity of a change of text is generally recognized. I suggest the reading וְשַׁבֹּתָ instead of לְשֻׁבֹּית. This gives for *b* the rendering: "And thou errest from the words of knowledge." The verse is to be regarded as conditional in fact, but not in form, "If thou ceasest .... thou wilt err." The thought is the danger of losing progress once made in wisdom, if a person does not continue to receive instruction.

30:31. אַלְקוּם.—This word is entirely unintelligible, although some have attempted to explain it as an Arabic word, and a change of text is evidently necessary. Many have been proposed. I suggest the reading חֵיל קָם. 𝕴 and 𝕾 appear to have read קָם. *b* would then be rendered: "And a king with whom an army rises up." This refers to a rising up for war, *i. e.*, it describes a king at the head of his army. Surely this is in harmony with the context, a king at the head of his army is "stately in" his "march."

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Book Notices.

BARTON'S SEMITIC ORIGINS.[1]

Since the publication of W. Robertson Smith's great work on the *Religion of the Semites* no similar treatise has appeared, although much new light has been shed on the subject by archæological and comparative research. Professor Barton's book is an attempt to gather up the results of the most recent investigations in this field and to present them in systematic form. There has long been need of such a discussion, and its author deserves the thanks of all Semitists and students of comparative religion for the thorough and painstaking manner in which he has gathered his materials from widely scattered sources.

The book opens with a discussion of the problem of the original home of the Semitic race. In common with most recent investigators, Barton rejects the theories that it is to be sought in northern Asia or in Babylonia, and finds it in Arabia. The further question, whether the Semites may not have migrated from some other region into Arabia, he answers by the theory that there was once a white race dwelling on both sides of the Mediterranean. In consequence of geological changes at the time of the last glacial period, Europe was separated from Africa, and this race was divided into south European and north African. The north African subsequently separated into Hamitic and Semitic. The ancestors of the Semites found their way into Arabia, where during thousands of years their racial peculiarities were developed and fixed. Subsequently the great Semitic migrations—Babylonian, Canaanitic, Aramæan, Nabatæan, Arabian, etc.—radiated from Arabia as a center. This theory is in accord with the best and most recent results of ethnological and philological research, and is probably correct.

The second chapter is devoted to a discussion of primitive Semitic social life. The author's conclusions are thus summarized (p. 80): "The Semites, perhaps as early as the time of their separation from the Hamites, had reached the animistic stage of culture, and formed totemistic clans. Their family relations were exceedingly vague. Marriage was for a short time, women resided in the homes of their own kindred, and descent was reckoned through them; the killing of female infants created a paucity of women, which produced a condition of polyandry resembling the Nair type. At the same time there was much sexual irregularity, which was regarded as innocent. Out of this there grew, through the formation of small trading clans and the influence of the

capture of women, a system of Thibetan polyandry and, later, a system of male kinship. Perhaps at the time of their separation from the Hamites, and at all events comparatively early, they had entered the pastoral and semi-agricultural stage of culture, in which the cultivation of the date palm played an important part." These positions are learnedly defended by a comparative study of the social institutions of the various branches of the Semitic race and by the analogy of similar institutions in other parts of the world. There is no reason to take exception to any of the conclusions reached. The author here follows closely in the footsteps of Robertson Smith in his *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.*

In the third chapter the more difficult subject of the origin of Semitic religion is taken up. Starting with the proposition that the religious beliefs of a people are always the reflex of its social condition, the author concludes that the primitive Semitic deity must have been a goddess who was the analogue of the polyandrous mother of primitive Semitic society. This deity he finds in Athtar-Ishtar-Ashtart-Ashtoreth-Astarte of later Semitic religions. She is a polyandrous goddess, the patron of unwedded love, the giver of offspring, who is worshiped with sacrifice of chastity, with circumcision, and with offerings of the first-born. Her son is Tammuz, but she has no husband; and the male element plays as small a part in religion as does the father in the matriarchal form of society. The name Athtar he connects with 'athûr, "irrigation channel;" and concludes that "Ishtar was originally a water goddess, the divinity of some never-failing spring or springs, and that some sacred tree to which the spring gave life represented her son." This view he defends by a detailed exhibition of the importance of springs and trees, particularly the date palm, in all the later Semitic religions.

There is certainly much truth in this view. The early Semites must have had mother-goddesses analogous in character to the polyandrous mothers of the clans, but it is doubtful whether this conception exhausted the content of primitive Semitic belief. The latest investigations in the field of comparative religion make one chary of tracing religion in general or any particular religion to a single source. Usener in his *Götternamen* has shown that primitive Aryan names for deity are nouns of action, and that anything that is able to do something is deified. Originally there was an indefinite number of gods, and limited pantheons have arisen by the selection of certain deities to be great gods and the association of minor ones with them as epithets. Hopkins in his *India Old and New* has shown that new gods of every sort are made daily in modern India. It is not likely that the Semitic mind worked so differently from the Aryan that its religion started in a unity and subsequently developed a variety, while the Aryan started with a variety and subsequently developed a greater or less unity. Most investigators hold that the primitive Semitic religion was polydæmonism, or the worship of an indefinite number of heterogeneous spirits that were localized in all sorts of physical objects. The sex of these spirits was determined partly

by their functions and partly by the accident of grammatical gender. There was no such thing as one Ishtar who manifested herself at various places, but any local spirit that was feminine was an Ishtar—in Assyrian Ishtar is the generic name for "goddess." Barton admits all this in theory (p. 81), but he makes no use of it in working out his system; in fact, he constantly speaks of the "mother-goddess Ishtar," as though she were an individual instead of a generic name. Even in a matriarchal stage of society it is not likely that the male element was ignored in religion, though it may have been subordinated. Children had fathers even when polyandry prevailed, and there were names expressive of the man's relation to the woman, if there were none expressing his relation to the children. The counterpart in religion of a polyandrous social organization is not the recognition of a single female deity, but the recognition of female deities having a number of spouses. Barton's identification of Ishtar and Tammuz with the spring and the palm tree respectively seems also unnatural. The life-giving water that makes the tree fruitful must have been personified as masculine rather than feminine, and the fruit-bearing date palm must have been viewed as a mother rather than as a son. A more natural theory would be that the date palm was the primitive mother-goddess and that the water, the sun, the male tree, and the winds that brought the pollen were all regarded as her husbands, because all contributed to make her fruitful This would correspond with the natural phenomena, and also with the habits of thought of a polyandrous community. However this may be, it is improbable that all Semitic religion goes back to the worship of a mother-goddess Ishtar.

In the fifth and sixth chapters the author studies the transformations that primitive Semitic faith underwent in south Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Assyria. He shows that, in consequence of the change of society from a matriarchal-polyandrous to a patriarchal-polygamous form, the primitive mother-goddess was frequently changed into a god. Thus in south Arabia Athtar became masculine. In Moab Ashtar-Chemosh is not to be regarded as the Ashtart who belongs to Chemosh, but the Ashtar who is identical with Chemosh, as is proved by the lack of feminine ending. In Phœnicia and Babylonia also traces are found of a male Ishtar. Ashur, the god of Assyria, is a male form of Asherah, the symbol, and then the synonym, of Ishtar. This is all true, and doubtless the change is due to the transition from a matriarchal to a patriarchal organization of society; but when, on the basis of these facts, Barton makes the sweeping generalization that all the gods of the Semitic world, including Yahweh, the God of Israel, are transformations of the primitive mother-goddess, few will be able to follow him. That Enlil, Ea, Sin, Marduk, Ramman, Dagan, Hadad, Baal, and Yahweh were all originally feminine cannot be proved, even if it could be established that the primitive Semites worshiped only a mother-goddess. Barton has got hold of a useful principle, but he tries to make it prove too much.

The chapters on survivals of the Ishtar cult in later Semitic religion and on the influence of the Semites on the non-Semitic world are full of interest and contain little to which one can take exception. However one may differ from certain of the author's conclusions, one cannot fail to recognize that this is an important contribution to the study of Semitic religions. Enormous labor has been spent in gathering the facts, and the constant reference to sources in the footnotes makes the work invaluable. The book is interesting as well as learned, and the general reader will be well repaid by a perusal. For students of comparative religion this will surely become a chief authority.

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STUDIES IN HEBREW METER.[1]

In this second part of his *Studien* Sievers gives the metrical examples promised in Part I (see this JOURNAL, April, 1902), together with some remarks extending or modifying his previous position; in these remarks he makes acknowledgment of the kindness of Professor H. Gunkel, who has gone over the examples and offered valuable suggestions. In Part II, as well as in Part I, Sievers has declined to accept emendations of passages that, though unintelligible, are metrically good, and has generally refrained from indicating by dividing lines the independent parts of chapters; both these procedures he now (in his added remarks) thinks mistaken. Certainly a metrist, when he is illustrating or seeking for principles, should not introduce emendations except where these are correct beyond all question; but he should always indicate corrupt passages when they are cited, and it would be better to omit such. Sievers's additional remarks relate to the septenary (7-beat) line, the retraction of the accent, geminates before š'wa, and the accentuation of segolates at the end of a verse. The septenary he now regards as a specially characteristic and typical form of the narrative or (what he looks on as the same thing) the popular poetry; and (in agreement with Gunkel) he retains such lines even in poems that are wholly or predominantly senary. He, however, holds this view of the septenary as only provisional, to be tested by further investigation; and, in fact, his illustrations do not appear to be convincing. In Gen. 49:8, for example, *a b*, which in the text he makes ternary (by omitting אַתָּה), he now takes as septenary (retaining אַתָּה). But here *c* is the proper parallel to *a* (*b* is interpolation or gloss), and the two are clearly ternary. In vs. 13 of the same chapter the first חוֹף is inappropriate, is wanting in the Septuagint (Codd. ABF), and should be omitted; there remains a satisfactory ternary couplet. The retention of עַתָּה and the second אֲנִי in Deut. 32:39

is not supported by the Septuagint, and is certainly for the worse. Sievers himself points out the suspicious character of the text of 2 Sam. 23 : 1–7, and can hardly, therefore, insist on the כֻּלָּהַם in vs. 6. In a number of cases (Isa. 3 : 1, 24; 5 : 31; Amos 2 : 13; Ps. 5 : 13, al.) he obtains seven beats by the retention of such words as יְהוָֹה‎, אֲנִי‎, בְּנִי‎, הִכָּה‎, words peculiarly exposed to scribal caprice; in other cases, especially in narrative passages (as Jonah 1 : 3; Mal. 1 : 7; Hag. 1 : 10), it is doubtful whether rhythm proper is to be recognized. There remain lines (as Isa. 1 : 28) in which a sequence of seven beats is probable. But such sequences may just as well be divided into two lines, of four and three beats respectively —an arrangement that accords with the general form of Hebrew verse: the quinary is really ternary and binary, and the senary is usually a double ternary; Prov. 3 : 14 is to be emended by omitting סַחַר before כֶּסֶף‎, and the following verse is ternary. Sievers appears, therefore, to find the septenary in a number of passages in which the text does not favor it, and in general to attach too much importance to it; in fact, it may be doubted whether it can properly be regarded as a metrical unit in the Hebrew system.

In regard to retraction of accent Sievers thinks that he has been heretofore too timid, and he now abandons the Masoretic tradition (except, of course, as a suggestion) and relies wholly on the natural rhythmical relations. It is difficult, he points out, in many cases to decide between the etymological tone and the rhythmical tone, and the proper accentuation of certain passages must remain doubtful—in such cases our judgment must be guided by the logical sequence and the ear, now one, now the other, being allowed the greater weight. In addition to the discussion in Part I he here considers especially the displacement of the chief accent two syllables; for example, in Isa. 2 : 8 (לְמַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו) he reads: lᵉma'sḗyadãu. It need hardly be remarked that such readings must be regarded as tentative; we may construe a passage rhythmically in a way satisfactory to ourselves, but we cannot be sure that we have read it as the composer intended; Grimme's suggestion as to the desirableness of investigating all Semitic meters is in point. The retraction to the second syllable is easiest when a š'wa is passed over, but there are cases, in Sievers's opinion, in which a full vowel may be overleaped. Uncertainties, like those referred to above, occur in the treatment of geminates before š'wa. In Part I Sievers, rather, he says, instinctively than from special investigation of the point, has refrained from giving two accents to long words with article and š'wa-syllable— these he has usually reduced to their short form; he still holds to this position in general, but asks whether the long form should not be retained oftener than he has done. For such forms no invariable rule can be laid down; the same reader may differ in his rhythmical rendition at different times, and it is not unlikely that temple singers and reciters and other persons of the ancient time varied the accentuation, not only according to the logical demands of the passages read, but also according to the feeling of the moment. The same remark will probably hold

of the accentuation of segolates, which (as is remarked in the notice of
Part I) is a question for special determination in every particular case.
Sievers so far modifies his former view as to hold the normal (barytonic)
accentuation as the more probable, and to regard the difference of treat-
ment of segolates in the Old Testament as reflecting the contrast, not
between older and younger forms, but between the delivery of speech
and that of song.   The questions, he says, need further investigation.

The greater part of the volume is taken up with the illustrative texts,
which are printed as in Part I, the Hebrew text on one page, and on the
opposite page the transliteration, with indication, on the margin, of the
rhythmical structure of every line.   There are useful footnotes, and, at
the end of the book, some additional notes on the text, including a
number of remarks by Gunkel.   It is to be hoped that Sievers will
continue his admirable work which has already done so much to excite
interest and guide investigation in Hebrew metric.

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METRICAL PROBLEMS OF THE PSALTER.[1]

The questions here discussed by Grimme affect in part all Hebrew
poetry, in part the Psalter (and Hab., chap. 3) only.   In four sections
he considers the general principles of psalm meter, the possibility of
metrical variety in a single poem, the strophic structure of the Psalms,
and the metrical and text-critical significance of Paseq-Legarmeh.   He
is not hopeful of a satisfactory construction of Hebrew metric until the
whole mass of Semitic metrical forms has been examined, and the tonic
laws of the primitive Semitic tongue and the relation of the Hebrew
meter to that of other Semitic peoples have been determined.   Mean-
time he reaffirms the metrical principles that he has laid down in his
preceding essays, and applies them in the criticism of the Psalms, offer-
ing a number of emendations based on metrical considerations.   It is
noteworthy that in his emendations he makes almost no use of his mora-
system, which in his introduction (pp. 9–20) he illustrates at length.
His examination of the text (in which he finds himself generally opposed
to Duhm) contains many good critical and grammatical remarks,
together with some that will hardly stand; special attention may be
called to his treatment of Pss. 18, 103, 110, 119, 139 as excellent (but in
14:3, 4 he is driven, by the desperate state of the text, to credit the
psalmist with calling Israel "Yahweh's bread").

As to variation of meter within the limits of a single psalm, his
objection to it may be regarded as in general just; we do not expect
such variation in poets so skilled as most of the psalm-writers are.   He

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[1] PSALMENPROBLEME: UNTERSUCHUNGEN ÜBER METRIK, STROPHIK UND PASEQ DES
PSALMENBUCHES. [In Collectanea Friburgensia, Veröffentlichungen der Universität Frei-
burg (Schweiz): Neue Folge, Fasc. III (12 der ganzen Reihe)].   Von Hubert Grimme.
Freiburg (Schweiz): *Kommissionsverlag der Universitätsbuchhandlung* (B. Veith), 1902.
viii+204 pp.   9 fr.

goes too far, however, in making invariability a critical canon; as the possibility of an occasional interchange of "I" and "we" by a poet must be admitted, so something must be granted to poetic metrical license; still, these changes of form will always excite suspicion, and invite one to look for signs of composite structure and interpolation. Grimme further finds in the metric alternations a mark of date: in Book I the number of the unvarying psalms is the greatest (the measure is prevailingly quaternary [4-beat], which he thinks the oldest); the variation increases constantly in Books II, III, IV, while Book V shows a partial return to the "older" norm. This is a legitimate inquiry, but its results will depend on the inquirer's metrical construction of the psalms; on this point there is great difference of opinion, and not all persons will agree with Grimme's enumeration of quaternary and ternary forms; his result, however, so far as regards Books I–IV, is that which has been reached, on other grounds, by the majority of critics, though it is one that calls for some serious modifications.

For strophic structure in the Psalter Grimme regards as the only sure guides the Selah and the refrain. The latter is generally accepted; the former remains a *crux criticorum*, and Grimme's investigation cannot be said to dissolve our doubts. He himself finds strophes where there is no Selah, and Selahs where there is no strophe; nor does he hesitate to deal arbitrarily with the Selah, displacing it, and changing the text to bring it in, as seems good to him.

From an examination of various diacritical marks Grimme reaches the conclusion that the Paseq-Legarmeh (both the point and the vertical line) indicates text-variants; he illustrates his conclusion by a comparison between the Hebrew Paseq-passages and the readings of the versions. The possibility that this was the function of Paseq need not be denied (it is favored by the Tiberian circle and asterisk), but the resulting advantage to the present-day critic is small, because it is impossible to say to what sort of error of text (or whether to any at all) Paseq refers in any particular case, and because there are many errors that are not marked by a Paseq.

Though Grimme does not satisfactorily sustain his main theses, he furnishes in this volume a mass of interesting and valuable material.

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DALMAN'S ARAMAIC LEXICON.[1]

The second part of this dictionary does not in its general make-up differ from the first part, and what could be said of the latter is true of this.[2] Of "corrected" biblical words we find here נֵפֶל, מִצְעָד, מַפּוֹחַ, תְּבַלּוּל, רֶעָבוֹן for the correct מַפּוּחַ, מִצְעָד, נֶפֶל, רְעָבוֹן, תַּבְלוּל. For

[1] ARAMÄISCH-NEUHEBRÄISCHES WÖRTERBUCH ZU TARGUM, TALMUD UND MIDRASCH, mit Vokalisation der targumischen Wörter nach südarabischen Handschriften und besonderer Bezeichnung des Wortschatzes des Onkelostargum, bearbeitet von Gustaf H. Dalman. Teil II. Frankfurt a. M.: *J. Kauffmann*, 1901. Pp. iv + 181–447; 8vo.

[2] *Cf.* this JOURNAL, Vol. XV, p. 57.

כְּבִיא, כְּבָאִי should be read כְּבָא, כְּבִיא · כְּבוּרֵי, כְּפוּרֵי are not to be changed to כַּבְּרֵי (*sic*), but are to be read כְּבוּרֵי, כְּפוּרֵי, this form being a Palestinian Aramaic plural. כְּבִינָא is not to be "corrected" to כְּבִינָא, as little as the author himself corrects the identical forms פְּחִימָא, תְּמִידָא. We have here a change of accented *ī* to *ē*, as in the Ma'lûlâ and other dialects. For כּוּבְסָא read כּוּבְסָא; it is a form like עֻבְדָא. כּוּרְיָא is correct and must not be read כּוּבְיָא. For כּוּרָא read כּוּרָא; *cf.* the spelling כּוּאַרָא. כַּלְכָּלָה is not κάρταλλος; this is קַרְטֵל and טַרְסְקַל; it is good Semitic from √כּוּל, and must be vocalized כַּלְכָּלָה. כְּנִסְת belongs to מְסַת. כָּסָא (*sub* כְּתָא) is forbidden by the constant spelling without י; read כַּסָּא or כָּסָא. כְּרוּבְתָא has nothing to do with κρωβύλος, but is = כְּרַבְלְתָא, good Semitic; *cf.* my *Grammar*, § 981. כַּרְשָׁא is translated "eine Fischart;" read Haifisch = Arab. قِرْش. For לְךָ read לְךָ. For לֵוִי read, with Bacher, לָוִי; the spelling לָוֵרֵי, לָוֵר, לָאוֵר does not permit a form לָוֵר, nor does the sense. The author was misled by Bacher, *Die älteste Terminologie, s. v.*, who explains שֵׁם לֵוִי as "begleiteter Name," but it really means "an accompanying name," *i. e.*, an additional definition to the name. For מֶלַחַת read מְלַחַת. Although Hebrew permits vocalizations like לֶחֶם, it does not permit the *ē* in similar forms before the feminine ending. מֶלַת is not permitted by the spelling מִילַת; read מֶלַת. The word stands for מְלַת* (√מלל), like אֶשֶׁת for אֶשֶׁת*. מְנוֹבִיתָא read מְנוֹבִיתָא; *cf.* my *Grammar*, p. 216, n. 2. For מַפֵּי "wer ist er" (*s. v.* מַפֵּי) read מֵן אִידִי "wer ist sie," correctly stated *s. v.* מֵן. For מֵעֲבִיל read מֵעֲבִיל. For "Anschliessung" (*s. v.* מְעַט) read Ausschliessung. מַקְרָא is the same as מוֹקְרָא; on etymology *cf.* Levias in this JOURNAL, Vol. XVI, p. 250. For מְקֵדַח שְׁכִיב read מַקְרִין. For מְרַע read מְרַע; for שְׁבִיב מְרַע read מְרַע. For מְרָשָׁא read מוֹרְשָׁא; this stands for מֵעַרְשָׁא*, as Hebrew מוֹרָה for מֵעֲרָה*; √ערש = √فرش. For נְגֻב (*s. v.* נְגֵב) read נְגוּב. For "Polal" (*s. v.* נִיר.) read Popal. For נְבֵי read נֵמִי. For נְמֵרִיר read נְמֵרִיר. נְסַס, נְסִיסָא, נְסִיס have no connection with νόσος, but are good Semitic. The Hebrew and Aramaic √נס is a differentiation of √נוֹשׁ אנשׁ, نس, just as כנס is the same as כנשׁ. With this is connected √אנס "sickness." For אנס = כרח; בְּעַל כְּרִיח, or בְּעַל פְּרִיח = בָּאוֹנֶס. For נְעָמִית read נְעָמִית. For "Schütten" (*s. v.* נֶעֱרַע) read Schütteln. For הַחֵלֶב (*s. v.* כֵּן) read הֶחֱלָב. For נֶפֶט read, with tradition and Aramaic נִפְטָא, נַפֶט; it is an exact counterpart of נֵרְדְּ. בֵּי נְשָׁא (*s. v.* נְשָׁא) read בֵּי נְשָׁא (*cf.* my *Grammar*, p. 206, n. 2, where correct form, translation, and explanation are given). For סְחוֹם (falsch סְחוּם) read סָחוּם (falsch סְחוּם). The article סִיטוֹסִימָה is uselessly

given twice, pp. 275, 276. For סנפר read סנפיר. עיימך (s. v. עים) is
a diphthongized form; cf. my *Grammar*, § 80. For עמוראה read
עמוראה; cf. my *Grammar*, § 848. For עמקי read עמקי. For ענוה
read, with Maimonides, ענוה = Arab. عَنْوَة. Instead of "s. פרוסדוד"
(s. v. פרוסדור) read "s. פרודזוד." For פרסום read פרסום. For
פריה, רביה, read, with tradition, רביה, פריה; *Seder Elijahu*, just
published by Friedmann, has the spelling פיריה, ריבייה. For קאמר
(s. v. ק) read קאמר. For קבלנות, קבלנא, קבלך read the forms with
ב. For קבר (s. v. קבורא) read קיבר, as on next page. For קומניתא
read קומניתא; √קמן = مثل. For קמצוין read קמצוין. For קעקע
read קעקע. For קורמא read קורמא; cf. my *Grammar*, § 887. For
קרמית read קרמית; cf. my *Grammar*, p. 210, n. 7. For קר read סר.
The connection of √קנס "fine" with κῆνσος has already been doubted
by Löw in Krauss, s. v.; this connection is made impossible by the
expression in *Seder Elijahu*: קנס עליו טובה; happiness cannot be
laid as a fine on a person. The word is good Semitic. קנס is by-form
of קסס = קצץ "to cut." בזר = קנס "to decree," קנס = בזרה "decree,"
קנסא = בזר "piece of wood." A word רויח has no existence. For
רחומי read רחומי; Sherira Gaon spells it ריחומי. For רצוצא,
רציצא read רצוצא, רציצא = رَضِيض, رُضُوض. For רקבונות read
רקבונות. שריא is not = שעד, but שריח; cf. Levias in this JOURNAL,
Vol. XV, p. 191. For שחלים read שחלים. For שירים read שירים =
שאירים*; שאיר* is a by-form of שאר; cf. my *Grammar*, § 855. The
form is not "dual," as the author states, just as little as מים, שחלים,
etc., but Hebraized forms of Aramaic שחליא, מיא, שריא, etc. For
שנא read שנא; neither spelling nor traditional pronunciation permit a
vocalization שנא. שנא is a contraction of שניא or שנאה*, just as
תנא stands for תניא, תנאה*. For תנן (s. v. תנא) read תנו,
תנך; these forms are narrative presents; cf. my *Grammar*, p. 246, note
to § 542. For תקרובת read תק'. To the volume are added "Correc-
tions and Additions." On p. 430a we read: "Für אבבית lies אכבית,
siehe חכבית." Turning to the latter word on p. 138 we find "חכבית
lies אבבית." To get the correct form one must know the etymology of
the word, and this is where our author is blundering. The word is the
Syriac ܡܟܒܒܐ "febrium horror;" the correct forms then are חבבית,
אבבית, עתית, reduplicated חבאבית, עבעבית, אבבית, עבבית.
ארס, ארסא (p. 436a) are not "virus," but good Semitic; cf. my *Gram-
mar*, p. 215, n. 1. גרגלידא (p. 440a) cannot mean "eine Art Rübe;"
this is לפתא in the expression גרגלידא דלפתא.

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STRACK'S ARAMAIC GRAMMAR.[1]

The author's compendious grammar of biblical Aramaic appears now in the third edition, for which new manuscript material was made use of. The Aramaic texts, partly with Babylonian vocalization, are given in full, and a glossary is added. The work is a helpful text-book for students. We notice a few misprints: p. 6, the number of the codices should read 5 L . . . . 6 P; p. 26, for Partt. read Part.; p. 28, for לְמִכְתַּב read לְמִכְתַּב. On p. 31 we read that the forms יִפֵּל, יִתֵּב are due to assimilation. Assimilation of what? In the regular forms *יִיכַּל, *יִיתֵב the first radical would quiesce in pronunciation; in other words, would disappear. How could a non-existent consonant be assimilated? This aside from the fact that the assimilation of a י is altogether a doubtful phonetic fact. These forms can only be explained by the analogy of פ"נ. Equally gratuitous seems to me the assumption that for סִמַּת should be read סִימַת (p. 31). The passive participle might be qatūl as well as qatīl, as in Babylonian Aramaic.

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THE MARTYRDOM OF CYPRIAN AND JUSTA.

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The story of Cyprian and Justa, or Justina, has long been known and has been published in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic. It is believed to have been the germ of plays by Calderon, Marlowe, and Goethe, in whose Faust and Mephistopheles Cyprian and his demon live again. The origin of the story and the historical confusion upon which it ultimately rests have already been treated with characteristic skill and comprehensiveness by Professor Zahn,[1] to whose book every student of the Cyprian legend owes much. With the great African bishop Cyprian of Carthage tradition has confused a Cyprian of Antioch, and about their composite has been woven such a romance of persecuted constancy as the ancient church had come to rejoice in. "Old men and maidens" proved combinations irresistibly attractive to the martyrologists, and *Cyprian and Justa* is one of their masterpieces. Cyprian of Carthage suffered martyrdom in A. D. 258. More than a century later Gregory of Nazianzus, in an oration on his festival, reflects the story since connected with the names of Cyprian and Justina, which thus seems to have sprung up within a hundred years after Cyprian's death.

In the Greek the story of Cyprian and Justina consists of three parts: I. The Acts of Cyprian and Justina; II. The Repentance of Cyprian; and, III. The Martyrdom of Cyprian

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[1] Theodor Zahn, *Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche Faustsage*, Erlangen, 1882.

and Justina.[1] It is to the first of these that the plots of Calderon,
Marlowe, and Goethe have been traced.   In it the wizard Cyprian
tries through his subject demons to win Justina from her per-
sistent virginity to marriage with a pagan lawyer.   Her triumph
over the wizard through the sign of the cross so impresses him
with the virtue of that symbol that he abjures his magic arts and
seeks Christian baptism.   Finally he so advances in his new faith
that Anthimus, bishop of Antioch, names him as his successor, in
which capacity he appoints Justina a deaconess and abbess of a
cloister.   The Repentance of Cyprian presents the story of
Cyprian's life up to his conversion, told by himself in the first
person.   The Martyrdom of Cyprian and Justina recounts
their arrest at Antioch at the instance of Eutolmius, count of the
East, and their removal to Damascus for trial.   The tortures to
which they are there subjected by Eutolmius are borne with such
constancy that he, in despair of overcoming their resolution,
despatches them to Nicomedia to be judged before Diocletian.
By him they are promptly sentenced to the sword.   One Theok-
tistus, coming up at the hour of execution and saluting Cyprian,
is summarily executed with them.

Originally Greek, the martyrdom passed into Latin, Syriac,
Arabic, and Ethiopic.   The Greek has long been accessible in
Acta Sanctorum, Sept., pp. 242 *sqq.*, where the text is based
upon two Paris manuscripts, Codd. Par. 520 and 1485.   A better
Greek text, in the opinion of Professor Zahn, is preserved in
Cod. Par. 1468, with which our Ethiopic shows some coincidences.
The Greek has recently been published afresh from a Sinaitic
manuscript by Mrs. Gibson, to whom students of Cyprian are
further indebted for the first publication of the Arabic text.[2]
Of the two Latin forms of the martyrdom the later has been
published in Martène-Durand, III, 1645–50, while the earlier is
known only through the notes of the Bollandist editor Klee.
In Syriac the story has lately been published by Bedjan from
a Berlin manuscript,[3] and by Mrs. Lewis from the Sinaitic
Palimpsest and from two British Museum manuscripts,[4] one of

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[1] *Cf.* Zahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-72, where German translations of the three parts are given.

[2] Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica* ("Studia Sinaitica," VIII). Lon-
don, 1901.

[3] P. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum Syriace*, Vol. 7. Leipzig, 1897.

[4] Agnes Smith Lewis, *Select Narratives of Holy Women* ("Studia Sinaitica," IX-X).
Syriac Text and Translation.   London, 1900.

them dating from the fifth century. The great age of this codex sufficiently evidences the antiquity of the Syriac version, and reasonably suggests the dependence upon it of versions like the Arabic and Ethiopic.

It should be added that about A. D. 440–60 the empress Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II., worked the three parts into three books of Homeric verse,[1] of which Photius has given a concise abstract in his *Bibliotheca*.[2] The Syriac presents the first and third parts as a continuous whole, and the Arabic seems to do the same, while in the Ethiopic the third part alone is preserved. The presumptive dependence of the Ethiopic upon the Syriac or Arabic texts, as extant, is thus rendered at least doubtful, and the striking correspondences between the Ethiopic and Professor Zahn's preferred manuscript of the Greek further increase the doubt. Yet the closing words of the Ethiopic, "which is in Syriac the month Atēr and in Ethiopic the month Hedār," etc., clearly show that some Syriac version lies back of the Ethiopic. That the Ethiopic cannot depend upon the Arabic published by Mrs. Gibson is clear from the presence in the Ethiopic of elements not in the Arabic, but in the Greek and Syriac. We conclude that, while the Ethiopic seems to be based on neither Mrs. Gibson's Arabic nor Mrs. Lewis's Syriac, some Syriac form lay between it and the parent Greek, of which last the Paris manuscript quoted by Zahn stands nearest it in type of text.

The Ethiopic text of *Cyprian and Justina* preserved in three British Museum manuscripts represents only the third of Professor Zahn's three parts, the Martyrdom. Brit. Mus. Oriental 689 ("A") has already been fully described in these pages.[3] In it *Cyprian and Justa* (for so the Ethiopic, like the Syriac, calls the heroine) stands eighth, *foll.* 45a to 47b.[4] As this is a fifteenth century codex, and the oldest manuscript preserving the Ethiopic text, its text has been printed in the following pages, the readings of the later manuscripts being gathered in the footnotes.

[1] J. Rendel Harris, *Homeric Centones*, p. 36; Zahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–17.

[2] Photius, *Bibliotheca* (ed. Bekker), pp. 128–9, cod. 184.

[3] Vol. XVII, p. 65.

[4] The first eight titles of Oriental 689 are as follows:

1. *Homily of S. John Chrysostom on S. John the Baptist.*	3. *Stephen.*	6. *Cyriacus.*
	4. *Eustathius.*	7. *Pantaleon.*
2. *Mamas.*	5. *Thekla.*	8. *Cyprian and Justa.*

In Brit. Mus. Oriental 687–8 ("B"), an eighteenth century manuscript, already described in these pages,[1] *Cyprian and Justa* occupies *foll.* 61a to 62b, standing ninth in order of contents.[2] Brit. Mus. Oriental 686 ("C") is a well-written codex of 286 leaves, measuring about 20 by 15¾ inches. The writing is in three columns, with 37–39 lines to the column. Like A and B, it is primarily a martyrology. *Cyprian and Justa* stands eighth among its titles,[3] occupying *foll.* 43b to 45a. References in the last colophon to the reign of 'Iyō'as, son of 'Iyāsū II., fix the date of the manuscript between the years 1755 and 1769.

The Ethiopic text printed is that of A. In the footnotes the first margin contains variant readings reflected in the corrections, etc., of A; the second, all the variants of B and C from the text of A. Where the text of A is unintelligible, a reading of B or C has been recommended (*q. l., recte*) in these footnotes, or if all are unsatisfactory a new reading has been proposed. It is believed that a readable text has thus been secured, without confusing the textual witness of the oldest manuscript, as printed, by possibly arbitrary emendations. In recommending readings, however, confusions of nominatives with accusatives and of indicatives with subjunctives have not been rigidly revised.

Professor Nöldeke has very kindly gone over the following text and translation in proof, and, while he is by no means to be held responsible for either, he has contributed a number of helpful suggestions, which the writer very gratefully acknowledges. Thanks are also due the authorities of the British Museum for the courtesies extended to the writer in his earlier work on the manuscripts, and especially to Mr. W. E. Crum, whose kind co-operation secured for the writer the photographs from which these texts are published.

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[1] Vol. XVII, p. 66.

[2] The opening titles of Oriental 687-8 are:

1a. *Homily of S. John Chrysostom on S. John the Baptist.*	2. *Mamas.*	6. *Thekla.*
	3. *Fāstladas.*	7. *Cyriacus.*
1b. *Homily of S. John Chrysostom on the Life and Decollation of S. John the Baptist.*	4. *Stephen.*	8. *Pantaleon.*
	5. *Eustathius.*	9. *Cyprian and Justa.*

[3] The first titles of Oriental 686 run:

1. *Homily of S. John Chrysostom on S. John the Baptist.*	3. *Fāstladas.*	6. *Cyriacus.*
	4. *Stephen.*	7. *Pantaleon.*
2. *Mamas.*	5. *Eustathius.*	8. *Cyprian and Justa.*

ገድል ፡ ወስምዕ ፡ ዘቅዱስ ፡ ቈጵርያኖስ ፡ ወዘቅድስት ፡ ኢዩስጣ ፡

ገድል[1] ፡ ወስምዕ ፡ ዘቅዱስ[2] ፡ ቈጵርያኖስ[3] ፡ ወዘቅድስት ፡ ኢዩስ
ጣ[4] ፡ ቀሎሙ[5] ፡ ለነቢያት ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይትፈጸም[6] ፡ በዝ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ወታ
ሉ ፡ ለአንግዚእነ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዝርኢተ[7] ፡ ስርናይ[8] ፡ ወ
ክርዳድ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ በዝግኔ[9] ፡ ወናውስጦስ[10] ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ተጋፈረ[11] ፡ ወተመ
ውእ[12] ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ወሕዝብ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ተዘርዉ[13] ፡ ወተዘሳ ።
ሠረቀ[14] ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ቈጵርያኖስ[15] ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጽሕፍ ፡ መጸሕፍተ[16] ፡ ውስ
ት ፡ ሕሉ ፡ አህጉር ፡ ብዙኃን[17] ፡ አስተጋብአ ፡ እለ ፡ ይስሕቱ ፡ እምዕገተ ፡
ለእኩይ ፡ ተዙላ[18] ፡ እምትክተ ፡ አርዌ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይተንእ[19] ፡ በሰብአ ፡ ዚ
አሁ ። ወኮነ[20] ፡ ለአውስጣልምስ[21] ፡ ቆምስ[22] ፡ ዘደወለ ፡ ጽባሕ ፡ ከመ ፡
ቈጵርያኖስ[23] ፡ መምህርሙ[24] ፡ ለክርስቲያን ፡ ይሰዕር ፡ ክብርሙ ፡ ለ
አግልክት ፡ ወይሜሪ[25] ፡ ሕሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ እ ሐቲ ፡ ድንግል ፡ እንተ ፡ ስ
ግ ፡ እዩስጣ[26] ፡ ወየሀውኩ[27] ፡ ሕሉ ፡ መጸሕፍተ[28] ፡ ወተሰምዐ[29] ፡ በደ
ወለ ፡ ጽባሕ[30] ፡ ወውስተ[31] ፡ ሕሉ[32] ፡ መኮን ። ወተሰምዐ[33] ፡ ኢውጣሌ

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* ይቴጌእ ፡ prim. man.

[1] ገድል ፡ ወ om. C.   [2] ወበፀዐ ፡ add. B.   [3] ቈጵርያኖስ ። B,
ቆጵርኖስ ፡ C.   [4] በረከተሙ ፡ የሃሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ፍቁሮሙ ፡ ነጉሥ ፡ እዩኣስ ፡
ወእሙ ፡ ንግሥት ፡ ወሰተ ፡ ጌዮርጊስ ፡ ወምስለ ፡ አመቶ ፡ እሌፌ ፡ ስዓሰመ ፡ ዓሰም ፡
እኀዝ ። add. C.   [5] ቃሎሙ ፡ BC, q. l.   [6] ይትፈጸም ፡ BC, q. l.
[7] ሌ እዝርእተ ፡   [8] ምርናይ ፡ C, ሌ ምርናይ ፡   [9] በዝጎ ፡ BC.   [10] ናስጦስ ፡ B.
[11] ተጋፈረ ፡ BC.   [12] ወተመውኍ ፡ B.   [13] ተዘርጠ ፡ BC, q. l.
[14] ሰረቀ ፡ B.   [15] ቈጵርያኖስ ፡ B, ቆጵርኖስ ፡ C.   [16] መጸሕፍት ፡
C, q. l.   [17] ወበዙኃን ፡ BC, q. l.   [18] ለተዙላ ፡ ወእኩይ ፡ C.   [19] ይ
ተንዐ ፡ BC.   [20] ወሀኩ ፡ C.   [21] ስ om. B recte ፡ ሕውስጣልምስ ፡ B,
ሕውስሞልምስ ፡ C.   [22] ቆምስ ፡ B.   [23] ቈጵርያኖስ ፡ BC.   [24] መ
ምህረ ፡ C, om. ሲ.   [25] ወይሜሪ ፡? BC.   [26] እዩስጣ ፡ BC, q. l.
[27] ወየሐውኩ ፡ B, ወየሀውክ ፡ C.   [28] መጸሕፍት ፡ C, በመጸሕፍት ፡ B, q. l.
[29] ወስምዕ ፡ C; ዘፍሮሙ add. B, q. l.   [30] ጸባሕ ፡ B.   [31] ወ om. C.
[32] ሕሉ ፡ C, q. l.   [33] ወተምዕ ፡ BC, q. l.

ምስ[1] ። ወእዘዘ ። ይዎቅሕዎሙ ። ወይዕተብዎሙ ። በዙነኔያት ። ወያብጽ
ሕዎሙ ። ሀገረ ። ደጋስቶ ። ወእግዝ ። አብጽሕዎሙ[2] ። ወተስኩሙ[3] ።
ኢውስባሌምስ[4] ። እንዘ ። ይብል ። ንገረኒ ። ቱጽርያኖስ[5] ። አንተ ።
መምህር ። ለክርስቲያን ። ዘብዙኅን[6] ። ትከት ። አስሐተከ ። በሥራይ
ከ[7] ። በጓይሎሙ[8] ። ለአግልከት ። ወይእዜስ ። በሥራያቲሁ ። ለዘ[9] ።
ተሰቀለ ። ትመጽእ[10] ። ስሕተት ። ወተሐምግ ። አእዛነ[11] ። ሰብእ ። ወታቀ
ድምሂ[12] ። ወታዐቢዮ[13] ። ለዘ ። ተሰቀለ[14] ። እምሕያዋን ። አግልከት ። ወ
አውሥአ ። ቅዱስ ። ቱጽርያኖስ[15] ። ወይቤሎ[16] ። ሕርቱም[17] ። እፍ ። አሰ
ርነከ[18] ። ርእስከ[19] ። በትዝህርተ[20] ። ወበትዐቢተ[21] ። ትብልኒ[22] ። በሥራያ
ቲሆሙ ። ለ እጋንንት ። እስመ ። አነሂ ። ቀዲሙ[24] ። አመ ። ሀለውኩ[24] ።
ምስሌክሙ ። ስርገሙ[25] ። በሥራይ[26] ። ወበጥበበ ። አረሚ ። እንዘ ። ጽሉ
ል ። አነ ። ብዙኅን ። ቀተልኩ ። ወለብዙኅን ። ረሰይክዎሙ[27] ። ይዘምዉ[28] ።
ወእግዝ[29] ። ኩሉ[30] ። እድጓንኒ[31] ። ክርስቶስ ። በእዴሃ ። ለዘ[32] ። ቅዱስተ ።
ድንግለ ። ወሀሎ ። ብእሲ ። ቀላስቲቱ[33] ። ኔር ። ዘእምዘመደ ። ቀላውን
ድስ[34] ። አፍቀራ[35] ። ለዘ[36] ። ድንግለ ። ወአልቦ ። ዘበቀዐ[37] ። ወእምግ ። ሰ
ብሰበ[38] ። ዘበ ። ሕግ ። ፈጓራ[39] ። ወስእነ[40] ። እስከ ። ይእዜ ። አሆ ። አብሎ
ታ ። ወመጽአ ። ጓቤየ ። ወእስተበቀዐኒ[42] ። ከመ[43] ። እምዕንባዜ ። ፍቅሩ ።
እፈውሶ[44] ። ወአንሰ ። እንዘ ። እትአመን ። መጸሕፍተ[45] ። ሥራያት ። ፈነ

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[1] ሔውስሓልዮስ ። B, ሔቅርበዎሙ ። C.   [2] ሔቅሪበዎሙ ። C.   [3] ወተ
ስአሰሙ ። B.   [4] ሔውስጣልምስ ። B, ሔውጣልምስ ። C.   [5] ቀጽርዮ
ስ ። B, ቀጽርዮኖስ ። C.   [6] ዘበዙኁ ። BC.   [7] በጓበረ ። ሥራየከ ።
ዘእስሐተከ ። C.   [8] በጓይሎሙ ። C, ወበጓይሎሙ ። B.   [9] H om. C.
[10] ታመጽእ ። BC, q. l.   [11] ሔዕዘ ። B.   [12] Z om. C, B ወታቀድሞ ።
[13] ወታዐብዮ ። BC.   [14] ለዘተቀለ ። B.   [15] ቀጽርዮኖስ ። B, ቀጽርዮ
ስ ። C.   [16] ሎ om. B.   [17] ሓርቱም ። BC.   [18] ሔምርነከ ። BC.
[19] ርእስክ ።? BC, q. l.   [20] በትዝጓርት ። B, q. l.; በዘትዝጓርት ። C.   [21] ወ
በትዐቢት ። B, q. l.; በ om. C.   [22] ትብል ። B, ወትብል ። C.   [23] ቀዲ
መስ ። C.   [24] ሀሉኩ ። C.   [25] ሥርገሙ ። B, ሥጓር ። ሕ ። C.   [26] በዐ
ራዪ ። C.   [27] ሔገርክዎሙ ። C.   [28] ይዘምዉ ። BC, q. l.   [29] ወእ
ግዝ ። B.   [30] om. C; l. ኩሉ.   [31] ሔድጓዝኒ ። BC.   [32] ለዘቲ ። BC, q. l.
[33] ቀላስቲቱ ። BC.   [34] ቀላስኒድስ ። B, ቀላውዲዖስ ። C, q. l.   [35] ዘሔ
ፍቀራ ። B, q. l.   [36] ለዘቲ ። B.   [37] ዘበቀዓ ። BC, q. l.   [38] ሰብ
ሳበ ። BC, q. l.   [39] ፈሐሪ ። B, ፈፓራ ። C.   [40] ወስኡዘ ። C.   [41] ሔ
ዎ ።? B.   [42] ወእስተበቀዐኒ ። BC.   [43] እፈውሶ ። add. C (infra om.).
[44] እፈውሶ ። om. C.   [45] በመጸሕፍት ። B, መጸሕፍት ። C, q. l.

ውኩ ፡ ላቲ ፡ ጋኔነ ፡ ወአበየቶ[1] ፡ በግዕቲብ[2] ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወበሣልስት[3] ፡
ፈነውኩ ፡ ላቲ ፡ ሊቆሙ ፡ ለአጋንንት ፡ ወውእተኒ[4] ፡ ጋብአ[5] ፡ ተመዩ
አ[6] ፡ በውእቱ ፡ ግዕተብ ፡ ወጽህፍ[7] ፡ አነ[8] ፡ እንከ[9] ፡ አእምር[10] ፡ ጎይ
ሉ[11] ፡ ለውእቱ ፡ ግዕተብ ፡ ወአምኃልክዎ[12] ፡ ለውእቱ ፡ ገነነ[13] ፡ እንዘ ፡
መላእክት ፡ ያወዕይዎ[14] ፡ ወነገሬ[15] ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ረከቢሃ[16] ፡ ለእኪት[17] ፡
ውእቱ[18] ፡ ወሎቱ ፡ ምግባሬ[19] ፡ ኃጢ[20] ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ አነ[21] ፡ ውእቱ[22] ፡ ሶ
ቤሃ[23] ፡ ጸሐፍኩ[24] ፡ ለዝ ፡ እምቅድሜየ ፡ ጸአስ[25] ፡ ወወሰድኩ[26] ፡ መጻሕ
ፍት[27] ፡ ሥራያት[28] ፡ ጎቤሁ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሀለዉ[29] ፡ ሎሎሙ ፡ ኔራነ ፡ ሀገር ፡
ወአውዓይኩ ፡ በእሳት ፡ ወአስተብቈዕክ[30] ፡ ይእዜኒ ፡ ተጋድግ[31] ፡ እም
ዝ[32] ፡ በዕድ[33] ፡ ጥያት ፡ ወተገባእ ፡ ጎብ[34] ፡ እንዚአብሐር ፡ ወእንዚአብ
ሐር[35] ፡ ይሴብሕ ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ ተአምር[36] ፡ ኢተመዊአት[37] ፡ ጎይሉ[38] ፡
ለክርስቶስ ፡ ወተምዖ[39] ፡ አውስጣልምስ[40] ፡ ጥተ ፡ ወኢዘለፎ[41] ፡ ሕሊና
ሁ ፡ ወአዘዘ ፡ ይስቅልዎ ፡ ወስትርዎ[42] ፡ ወለይእቲ[43] ፡ ድንግልኒ[44] ፡ ብዕ
ዕት ፡ ይፈፍዕዋ[45] ፡ በይቡስ ፡ ግእስ[46] ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይትባረዩ[47] ፡ ወትቤ[48] ፡
ቅድስት[49] ፡ ድንግል[50] ፡ እኩት ፡ አንተ ፡ እንዚአ ፡ እስመ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ኢይ
ደልወኒ[51] ፡ ወእንዘ ፡ ነኪር ፡ አነ ፡ ትካት ፡ እንቲአከ ፡ ረሰይኒ[52] ፡ ከመ ፡

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a *prim. man.* ይውዕዶ ፡   b *prim. man.* ረበኃ ፡

1 ወእደበስተ ፡ BC.   2 በዕተብ ፡ B.   3 ወበግልስ ፡ C.   4 ወው
እተኒ ፡ C.   5 om. C.   6 ተመዑ ፡ B, ተመውነ ፡ C, *l.* ተመዊ ፡
7 ወጽሐቀ ፡ B, ጽሐቀ ፡ C.   8 om. BC, *suppl.* B *prim. man. post.* እ
ንከ ፡   9 እስከ ፡ *add.* C.   10 አእምር ፡ BC.   11 ጋይሉ ፡ BC.
12 ወአምኃልክዎ ፡ B, ወአምሐልክዎ ፡ C, *q. l.*   13 ገነን ፡ BC, ወነገሬ ፡
add. C (*infra om.*).   14 ይመዕይዎ ፡ B *corr.*   15 ወነገሬ ፡ B,
om. C.   16 ረከባ ፡ C, B ረኩበኃ ፡ *q. l.*   17 ላእከት ፡ C.   18 *om.* C.
19 ምግባሬ ፡ C.   20 ጸዒነ ፡ C.   21 *om.* C.   22 ወእተ ፡ 2ዘ ፡ C.
23 *om.* C.   24 አዪ ፡ *add.* C.   25 BC ጸአስ ፡ *q. l.*   26 ወ *om.*
B.   27 መጻሕፍት ፡ BC, *q. l.*   28 ሥራይ ፡ B, ሥራዪት ፡ C.   29 ሀለ
ው ፡ C.   30 አስተብቈዓክ ፡ BC, *om.* ወ   31 ተጋደግ ፡ B.   32 B
om. prim. man., suppl. corr.   33 ዕበደ ፡ B, አምእኩ ፡ C.   34 በተ ፡
BC.   35 ጎብ ፡ *pro* ወ B, ጎብ ፡ *pro* ወእንዚኣዐብር ፡ C.   36 ታእም
C ፡ B, *q. l.*   37 ኢታመውያት ፡ B, ኢተመውኣት ፡ C.   38 BC ጋይሉ ፡ *q. l.*
39 ወተምግ ፡ BC.   40 አውጣልምስ ፡ B, አውጣልምፉስ ፡ C.   41 ወይ
ዛለር ፡ C.   42 ወይስትርዖ ፡ BC, *q. l.*   43 ወለይእቲ ፡ B.   44 ሬ
om. BC.   45 ይጸፍዕዋ ፡ BC.   46 ግእስ ፡ B, *tr.* በግዕስ ፡ ይብስ ፡ C.
47 ይትገሬ ፡ B, ይትረጀቱ ፡ C.   48 *add.* ቱ ፡ C.   49 ይእተ ፡ C.   50 ለ
እንዚኣ ፡ *add.* C.   51 ኢይደልወኒ ፡ B.   52 ረሰይኒ ፡ BC, *q. l.*

ለፈቀደ¹ ፡ ዚአከ² ፡ ከመ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ስመ ፡ ዚአከ ፡ እጸፋዕ³ ። ወደከ
ሙ ፡ ሰገራት ፡ እንዘ⁵ ፡ ይጸፍዕዋ ፡ ወይእቲኒ⁴ ፡ እንዘ⁵ ፡ ትሴብሔ ፡ ለእ
ግዚአብሔር ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ቅድስት ፡ ድንግል ፡ ወአዘ ፡ ይናድጉ⁶ ። ወእ
ምዝ ፡ አውሥአ⁷ ፡ ቅዱስ⁸ ፡ ቈኵርያኖስ⁹ ፡ እንዘ ፡ በሕቀ¹⁰ ፡ ይስትር
ዋ ፡ ፈድፋደ¹¹ ፡ ኢነበበ ፡ ጦቀ ፡ ምንተኒ¹² ። ወእምዝ ፡ አውሥአ ፡ ወይ
ቤሎ¹³ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ቈኵርያኖስ¹⁴ ፡ ለአውስጣልሞስ¹⁵ ፡ ለምንት ፡ ትትወበ
ይ¹⁶ ፡ አንት ፡ መምዕላይ¹⁷ ፡ ላዕለ¹⁸ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወንሕላዊ¹⁹ ፡ ለተ
ስፋ ፡ ዘክርስቶስ²⁰ ፡ ወነኪር ፡ አንት ፡ መንግሥተ²¹ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ እንተ ፡
አነ ፡ እጽህቅ²² ፡ ከመ ፡ እብጻሕ²³ ፡ ውስቲታ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይደልወዉ ፡ በዝ²⁴ ፡
ዙኔነያት²⁵ ። ወአውሥአ ፡ አውስጣልሞስ²⁶ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል²⁷ ፡ እንዘ²⁸ ፡
መንግሥተ²⁹ ፡ እንተ³⁰ ፡ ተጋሥሥ ፡ ዘእምዝ³¹ ፡ የጎቢ ፡ ኵሎ³² ፡ ዙኔኔ
ያት³³ ፡ ትትኴነን ። ወአዘዙ³⁴ ፡ ያውርድዋ ፡ ወይደይዋ ፡ ውስተᵇ ፡ ቤተ ፡
ሞቅሕ ፡ ወቅድስ፡ᵗ⁵ ፡ ድንግል ፡ ቤተ³⁶ ፡ ጣርጤኖን³⁷ ፡ አዘ ፡ ያንበር
ዋ ። ወእምዝ³⁸ ፡ ቦአት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ቤት ፡ በርሁ³⁹ ፡ ኵለንታሁ⁴⁰ ፡
ለቤት⁴¹ ፡ በጸጋሁ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ። ወእምድኅሬ ፡ ጎዳጥ⁴² ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ከዕ
በ⁴³ ፡ አዘ ፡ ያቅርብዎሙ ፡ ወእምዝ⁴⁴ ፡ መጽኡ ፡ ይቤሎ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ ቈ
ኵርያኖስ⁴⁵ ፡ በዕበድ⁴⁶ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ዘሞተ ፡ ኢትፍቅዱ⁴⁷ ፡ ት፡መ

ᵃ *prim. man.* እH ፡   ᵇ *prim. man.* ውስት ፡?

¹ በፈቃይ ፡ B, ሰፈቃደ ፡ C, *q. l.*   ² ወረስይዙቲ ፡ *add.* BC, *q. l.*   ³ እጽ
ፉዕ ፡ C.   ⁴ ቲ *om.* B, እንH — ወይእቲኒ ፡ *om.* C.   ⁵ እንተ ፡ C.   ⁶ ይናድግ
ዋ ፡ B.   ⁷ እምዝ ፡ አውሥአ ፡ *om.* BC.   ⁸ ወቅዱስ ፡ C.   ⁹ ቈጽርያኖስ ፡ B,
ቈጽርያኖስ ፡ C.   ¹⁰ በህቀ ፡ C.   ¹¹ *om.* C.   ¹² *om.* B.   ¹³ ወይ
ቤሎ ፡ *post* ቈጽርያኖስ ፡ C.   ¹⁴ ቈጽ" B, ቈጽ" C.   ¹⁵ ለአውስጣልሞስ ፡
B, ለአውጣልሞስ ፡ C.   ¹⁶ ትትጋበይ ፡ B, ትትጌበይ ፡ C.   ¹⁷ መም
ዕላየ ፡ C.   ¹⁸ *om.* C.   ¹⁹ ወጉሕላዊ ፡ BC.   ²⁰ H *om.* B.
²¹ እመንግሥት ፡ BC.   ²² እጽሕቅ ፡ BC.   ²³ እንሥአ ፡ ወ *add.* C
ante እብጺሕ ፡   ²⁴ በዘንቱ ፡ B, በዝቱ ፡ C.   ²⁵ ዘኔ ፡ BC.   ²⁶ አውስ
ጣልሞስ ፡ B, አውጣልሞስ ፡ C.   ²⁷ እንH ፡ ይብል ፡ *om.* BC, ወይብሉ ፡ C.
²⁸ እመ ፡ እንተስ ፡ *pro* እንH ፡ C, *q. l.*   ²⁹ መንግሥት ፡ B.   ³⁰ ሰማኒት ፡
pro እንተ ፡ C, *q. l.*   ³¹ እምዝ ፡ H B.   ³² *om.* BC.   ³³ ዙኔያት ፡ BC, *q. l.*
³⁴ እምH ፡ *add.* B *ante* አHH ፡   ³⁵ ወስቅርስት ፡ BC, *q. l.*   ³⁶ *om.* B.
³⁷ ጥርጤኖስ ፡ C.   ³⁸ ወሰበ ፡ C, *l* ወእምH ፡   ³⁹ ወበርጋ ፡ B.
⁴⁰ ዙሉ ፡ C.   ⁴¹ ለ *om.* C.   ⁴² ጎዳጥ ፡ BC.   ⁴³ *tr.* አHH ፡ ካዕበ ፡ C.
⁴⁴ ወእምH ፡ B, ወእምH ፡ ሶበ ፡ C.   ⁴⁵ *om.* B *prim. man.,* ቈጽ" *suppl. corr.;*
ቈጽ" C *in litura.*   ⁴⁶ ወ *praef.* B, አኡበይ ፡ *add.* C.   ⁴⁷ ኢትፍቅድ ፡ C.

ቱ ፨ ወይቤሉ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ቱሽርያኖስ¹ ፡ ዝሞት² ፡ ዘበእንተ³ ፡ እግዚአ
ብሔር ፡ ለእለ ፡ ያፈቅርዎ⁴ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ዘለዓለም ፡ ያስተዳሉ ፨ ወሰሚ
ዖ ፡ ዝንተ⁵ ፡ መከረ ፡ ወሐለየ ፡ ወአዘዘ ፡ ቴጎነ⁶ ፡ ያንድዱ⁷ ፡ ወይደሩ ፡ ው
ስቴቱ ፡ ፒሳ ፡ ወስብሐ ፡ ወመዓረ ፡ ጌራ ፡ ወይደዩ ፡ ውስቴቱ⁸ ፡ ለብ
ፁዕ ፡ ምስሌሃ ፡ ለቅድስት ፡ ድንግል ፡ ወለከብሮሙ⁹ ፡ እሰተ¹⁰ ፡ ወውእ
ቱ ፡ ቀደም ፡ በዊአ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ቱሽርያኖስ¹¹ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቴጎነ¹² ፨ ወበእ
ት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ብዕዕት¹³ ፡ በጊዜሃ ፡ ወእኩይ ፡ ከይሲ ፡ እምትክት¹⁴ ፡ ወደ
የ ፡ ላቲ ፡ ውለት ፡ ልብ ፡ ፍርሀት¹⁵ ፡ ወመጽአት¹⁶ ፡ ወቆመት ፡ ጥቃሁ ፨
ወይቤላ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ቱሽርያኖስ¹⁷ ፡ ንዒ ፡ በትዕግሥቱ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ እን
ተ ፡ እንቀጸ ፡ ሰግያት¹⁸ ፡ አርጎወት¹⁹ ፡ ወእንተ ፡ አርአየተኒ ፡ ስብሐቲ
ሁ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፨ ወእሮ²⁰ ፡ ይእዜ²¹ ፡ ተመዋእኪ ፡ እንተ ፡ አጋንንት²² ፡
አስተጎፈርኪ²³ ፡ ወእንተ²⁴ ፡ መኩንኖሙ ፡ ከመ²⁵ ፡ ኢምንተኒ²⁶ ፡ ረሰ
ይኪ²⁷ ፡ በልቢስ ፡ ግዕተብ²⁸ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ እሮ ፡ ይእዜ ፡ በትራቱ ፡
ለፀራዊ ፡ ተሰፈጦኪ ✝ ወይእት ፡ ጊዜ ፡ እምሳለ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ገበራ ፡ በ
አት ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቴጎነ²⁹ ✝ ወክልኤሆሙ³⁰ ፡ ሀለው³¹ ፡ እንዘ³² ፡ የዓርፉ²³
ከመ ፡ እንተ ፡ ጠል ፡ ዘኤርሞን³⁴ ✝ ወይቤ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ቱሽርያኖስ³⁵ ፡ ስብሐት ፡
ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ በሰግያት ፡ ወሰላም ፡ በምድር ✝ እስመ ፡ እምዝ ፡ ወድቀ ፡
ሰይጣን ፡ እምሰግይ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ሰላም ፡ ተፈጸመ ፡ ወክርስቶስ ፡
እምዝ ፡ መጽአ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ለሰይጠን³⁶ ፡ ጽልመት ፡ ተአዘዘ ፡ ወ
በጎይል³⁷ ፡ ግዕተብ³⁸ ፡ መስቀሉ ፡ አገብርቲሁ³⁹ ፡ ተሃህለ⁴⁰ ፡ ወለሰይጠ

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¹ ቴሽርያኖስ ፡ B, om. C.   ² ለዝንቶቿ ፡ ሞት ፡ ለእለ ፡ ያፈቅርዎ ፡ C pro
ዝሞት ፡ H; ዘሞት ፡ B.   ³ H om. B.   ⁴ ለእለ ፡ ያፈቅርዎ ፡ om. C,
v. supra.   ⁵ ሰሚዖ ፡ H ፣ ንተ ፡ om. C.   ⁶ ጤዝ ፡ BC.   ⁷ ያነድዱ ፡ BC,
q. l.   ⁸ om. BC.   ⁹ ወእለከብሮሙ ፡ B, q. l.; ወእለከብሮ ፡ C.   ¹⁰ እሰተ ፡
BC, q. l.   ¹¹ ቴጽ“ B, ቶጽ“ C.   ¹² ጤጎነ ፡ BC, q. l.   ¹³ tr.
ወበዕዕት ፡ በአት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ B.   ¹⁴ tr. እምትክት ፡ ከይሲ ፡ C.   ¹⁵ ፍ
ርሀት ፡ B, ፍርጎት ፡ C.   ¹⁶ ወ om. B.   ¹⁷ ቴጽ“ B, ቶጽ“ C.   ¹⁸ ሰ
ግያ ፡ C.   ¹⁹ አርጎወት ፡ BC.   ²⁰ ወ om. C.   ²¹ om. C.
²² አጋንንት ፡ BC.   ²³ አስተጎፈርኪ ፡ B, እንተ ፡ አስተጎፈረት ፡ C.   ²⁴ ው
እት ፡ C.   ²⁵ ወ pro ከመ ፡ C.   ²⁶ ፈ om. BC.   ²⁷ ረሰዮት ፡ C.
²⁸ ጎይል ፡ add. C.   ²⁹ ጤጎነ ፡ BC, q. l.   ³⁰ ወቌዎሙ ፡ BC.   ³¹ ሀ
ለጤ ፡ BC.   ³² om. C.   ³³ ያዓርፉ ፡ B.   ³⁴ ዘኤርሞን ፡ B, q. l.;
ዘኤርሞኔም ፡ C.   ³⁵ ቴጽ“ B, ቶጽ“ C.   ³⁶ ሰይጠን ፡ BC.   ³⁷ ወ
በጎይል ፡ BC.   ³⁸ om. C.   ³⁹ om. B prim. man.; suppl. corr.
⁴⁰ ተሃጎለ ፡ B, ተሠጎለ ፡ C.

ን ፡ ማጎደራ[1] ፡ ውስተ ፡ ገሃነም[2] ፡ ረሰየ[3] ፡ ፨ ወበእንተዝ ፡ አአኩተከ ፡ እ
ምላክ ፡ አበው ፡ አእግዚእ[4] ፡ ወበምሕረትከ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ኵነኔ ፡ እስልጥ[5] ፡
በእንተ ፡ ስመ ፡ ዚአከ[6] ፡ ከመ ፡ መሥዋዕተነ[7] ፡ ዛቲሂ[8] ፡ እንተ ፡ ጽንሐ
ሐ[9] ፡ ትትመዓዝ ፡ ለመዐዛ[10] ፡ ሠናይ ፡ ፨ ወእምዝ[11] ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ሰምዐ[12] ፡ እ
ውጣልምስ[13] ፡ ይቤ ፡ አነ ፡ እዛዛር[14] ፡ ዐብደ[15] ፡ ዐንበዚኽሙ[16] ፡ ፨ ወአት
ናስ[17] ፡ ዘይነብር[18] ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ ዐርኩ[19] ፡ ወይቤሎ[20] ፡ ለአውጣልምስ ፡
የአዝዘኒ[21] ፡ ኔራት[22] ፡ ዘዚአክ[23] ፡ እዐርግ[24] ፡ ውስተ ፡ ፍልሐቱ ፡ ለዝ[25] ፡
ተገን[26] ፡ በስሞሙ ፡ ለአግአክቲነ[27] ፡ ፨ ወንግአ[28] ፡ ዘኅይሎ[29] ፡ ኃይለ[30] ፡
ክርስቶስ ፡ ፨ ወእብሐ ፡ አውጣልምስ[31] ፡ ወቀርብ[32] ፡ እትናስ[33] ፡ ኃብ ፡ ቲ
ገን[34] ፡ ወይቤ ፡ ዐቢይ[35] ፡ እምላክ[36] ፡ ሄራቅሌስ[37] ፡ ወአቡሆሙ[38] ፡ ልእ
ግአከት ፡ እስቅልጽዮስ[39] ፡ ዘይሁብዎሙ[40] ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ለሰብእ ፡ ፨ ወሰበ ፡
ቀርብ ፡ ኃብ ፡ ፍልሐት ፡ ተገን[41] ፡ እሳት ፡ ረከቦ[42] ፡ ወነቅዕ[43] ፡ ከርሡ ፡ ወ
ተክዕወ[44] ፡ አማዐዋቲሁ[45] ፡ ፨ ወሀሎ ፡ ቅጽርያኖስ[46] ፡ ንጹሕ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይሴ
ብሐ ፡ ለ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ምስሌሃ ፡ ለቅድስት ፡ ድንግል ፡ ፨ ወሰበ ፡ ርእየ ፡
ዘንተ ፡ አውጣልምስ[47] ፡ ይቤ ፡ እትሐዘብ[48] ፡ ኢትመውእ[49] ፡ ኃይሉ[50] ፡
ለክርስቶስ ፡ ወየሐዝነኒ[51] ፡ እስመ ፡ ኔረኒ[52] ፡ ዐርከየ[53] ፡ ቀተለ ፡ ሊተ[54] ፡

[1] ማጎደር ፡ B, q. l; om. C.   [2] ኃደሬ ፡ add. C.   [3] ረስየ ፡ C.   [4] እ
om. B, ወ pro እ C.   [5] እሥልጥ ፡ B, እሥልጥ ፡ C.   [6] ስምኁ ፡ pro ስሞ ፡
ዚአከ ፡ B.   [7] መሥዋዕተነ ፡ BC, q. l.   [8] ሂ om. BC.   [9] ጽንሐሕ ፡ C, q. l.
[10] ለሰመዓዝ ፡ B, ለመዓዝ ፡ C.   [11] ወእምH ፡ B, q. l. ወሶበ ፡ C.   [12] ስምዓ ፡
B, tr. ስምዓ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ C.   [13] አውስጣልምስ ፡ B, አውጣልምዮስ ፡ C.   [14] እዛ
ለፍ ፡ BC.   [15] ዐብደ ፡ BC.   [16] እንባዜክሙ ፡ C.   [17] ስ add. B.
[18] H om. BC.   [19] ዓርኩ ፡ BC.   [20] ወ om. BC, recte.   [21] ይእ
ዝዘኒ ፡ B.   [22] ኔራት ፡ BC, q. l.   [23] H om. BC, recte.   [24] ዐዐ
ርግ ፡ B.   [25] ዝ ፡ om. B.   [26] ጤገን ፡ BC.   [27] ለአግአልክተነ ፡ C.
[28] ወንግዓዐ ፡ B.   [29] ዘይብሉ ፡ BC.   [30] ኃይለ ፡ BC.   [31] አው
ስጣልምስ ፡ B.   [32] ወ om. ወዐb ፡ add. B.   [33] እትናስ ፡ B.   [34] ጤ
ገን ፡ BC.   [35] ዓቢይ ፡ BC.   [36] እምላክ ፡ C, q. l.   [37] ሄራቅል
ስ ፡ B, ሔራቅልስ ፡ C.   [38] ወ om. B.   [39] እስቀሊጽዮስ ፡ C.   [40] ዘይ
ሁሙ ፡ BC.   [41] ጤገን ፡ BC.   [42] ረከቦ ፡ እሳት ፡ B.   [43] ወኑ
ቅዓ ፡ BC.   [44] corr. B; B prim. man. ወተክወ ፡   [45] አማዐቲሁ ፡
B, አማዐኁ ፡ C.   [46] ቂጽ" B. ቆጽ" C.   [47] አውስጣልምስ ፡ B.
[48] እትጎዘብ ፡ B.   [49] ኢይትመዋእ ፡ B, ኢይትመዋእ ፡ C, q. l.   [50] ኃ
ይሉ ፡ BC.   [51] ወየጎዝዘኒ ፡ B, q. l; ወየኃዝዚ ፡ C.   [52] ኔሬ ፡ BC.   [53] ዓርከየ ፡ BC.   [54] om. B.

ክርስቶስ ፡ ወጸውዓ ፡ ለጥርጠርስ[1] ፡ ዘመደ ፡ ዚአሁ ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ ምንተ ፡
እሬስቶሙ[2] ፡ ለእሉ ፡ ሬያት[3] ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ ጥርጥርስ[4] ፡ ውቅ ፡ እሉንተ ፡
ቅዱሳን[5] ፡ ወኢትትባእስ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ቅዱሳን[6] ፡ እስመ ፡ ኢይትመዋእ[7] ፡
ኃይሎሙ[8] ፡ ለክርስቲያን[9] ፡ እላ[10] ፡ ፈንፆሙ ፡ ኃብ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ወንግ
ር[11] ፡ ዘበእንቲአሆሙ ፡ ወጸሐፈ ፡ አውጣልምስ[12] ፡ ከመዝ ፡ እንዘ ፡
ይብል[13] ፡ ለቄሳር ፡ ዐቢይ[14] ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ምድር[15] ፡ ለዲዮቅላ
ጥያኖስ ፡ ፍሥሐ[16] ፡ በከመ ፡ ትእዛዘ ፡ መንግሥትክ ፡ አገብእዎ[17] ፡ ለቴ
ጵርያኖስ[18] ፡ መምህሮሙ ፡ ለክርቲያን ፡ ምስለ ፡ አሐቲ ፡ ድንግል ፡ እ
ንተ ፡ ስግ ፡ ኢዶስጣ ፡ በደዋለ ፡ ጽባሕ ፡ ወናሁ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መጽሐፉ ፡
ትሰምዕ ፡ ዘነገያት[19] ፡ ወዓዕረ ፡ ዘከመ[20] ፡ ኩነንክሙ[21] ፡ ወአሆ ፡ ኢ
ይቤሉ ፡ ወናሁ[22] ፡ ፈነውክሙ ፡ ኃብ ፡ አዛዝክ[23] ። ወሶበ ፡ አንበበ[24] ፡ ንጉ
ሥ[25] ፡ እንከረ ፡ ዘከመ ፡ ተኩነት ፡ ብዑ-ኃን[26] ፡ ወሐለዩ[27] ፡ ምስለ ፡ አዕር
ክቲሁ ፡ ኩንናቶሙ ፡ ዳገመ[28] ። እከ ፡ ርቱዕ[29] ፡ ወበከ[30] ፡ ወጥና[31] ፡
ውስተ ፡ ኃይል[32] ፡ ዘኢይትመዋእ[33] ። ወይቤ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ጸገ[34] ፡ ጸጋሁ ፡
ለቴጵርያኖስ[35] ፡ መምህሮሙ ፡ ለእንጦከያስ[36] ፡ ወድንግል ፡ ኢዶስ
ጣ[37] ፡ ኃረፉ[38] ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ትምህርተ ፡ ከንቱ[39] ፡ ዘክርስቲያን ፡ ወእፈቀዱ ፡
ሐዩ[40] ፡ ወአብደሩ ፡ መዊተ[41] ፡ እሉ[42] ፡ ዘበ[43] ፡ ሰይፍ ፡ ይትኩነቱ ፡

ወይም፦ቱ¹ ። ወወሰድም ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ መስሌሃ² ፡ ለድጓል³ ፡ ፈለገ ፡ ዘስ
ሙ ፡ ጋልዮስ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ኒቆምድያ ፡ ወሰአሉ⁴ ፡ ጸሰተ⁵ ፡ ይትጋ᎐ጋ᎐ሡ
ም᎐⁶ ፡ ለጸሉት ፨ ወዘክሮን⁷ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ለዙሉን⁸፤ ፡ አብያተ⁹ ፡ ክርስቲ
ያን¹⁰ ፡ እለ ፡ ውስተ¹¹ ፡ ዓልም ፡ ወለዙሉሙ ፡ አግብርተ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፨
ወአቀጣ¹² ፡ በየጣኑ ፡ ለድንገል ፡ ወወተብ ፡ በጣዕተብ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወአ
ስተብቀ᎐ዐ¹⁴ ፡ ኪያሃ ፡ ይቅድሙ ፡ ከልሎ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ከጣሁ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ ስብ
ሐት ፡ ለክርስቶስ¹⁵ ። ወሀሎ ፡ ᎐ብእሲ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ ቲዖቅጢስጦስ¹⁶ ፡ ዘበ
ጽሐ ፡ እምሐቅል ፡ ወተአምና¹⁷ ፡ ለቅዱስ ፡ ወሀሎ ፡ ይርኢ᎐¹⁸ ፡ መጣከ
ርቱ¹⁹ ፡ ለንጉሥ²⁰ ፡ ድዮቅልጥያኖስ²¹ ፡ ወአዘዘ ፡ በጊዜሃ ፡ ይምትሩ ፡
ርእሰ²² ፨ ወእምድኅሬሁ ፡ ለቅዱስ᎐²³ ፡ ቀᎌርያኖስ²⁴ ፡ ወአዘዘ²⁵ ፡ ᎐ጋ
ሆም ፡ ለክለባት᎐²⁶ ፡ የሀብዎሙ²⁷ ፡ ይብልዑ ፨ ወ᎐በሩ²⁸ ፡ ብᎌን²⁹
መዋዕለ ፡ ᎐ጋሆሙ ፡ ለሰልስቲሆሙᵇ ፡ አፍአ ፡ ገᎌፈᎌ³⁰ ፡ ለአራዊት ፨
ወለእሲአሆሙ³¹ ፡ መሃይምናን ፡ ወᎌራን ፡ ወጸድቃን³² ፡ እምዝ³³ ፡ ሰ
ምዑ ፡ ከመ ፡ ተክልሉ³⁴ ፡ ቅዱሳን³⁵ ፡ እስመ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ብሔርሙ ፡ ውእ
ቱᎌ³⁶ ፡ ርᎌዊ ፡ ሰዱስ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ መዐልተ³⁷ ፡ ፀᎌሐሙ᎐ ፡ ወᎌሉሙ ፡ እ
ለ ፡ የዐቅቡ³⁸ ፡ አስፈጡ ፡ ወነ᎐ᡒᎡ ፡ ዘእምወርቅ³⁹ ፡ ወእም᎐ᎌንቀ⁴⁰ ፡

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¹ መዋᎌ ፡ B, ᎌት ፡ C.   ² ᎌስሊ᎐ ፡ BC, q. l.   ³ ለድንጓል ፡ BC,
q. l.   ⁴ ወሰአል ፡ B, q. l.   ⁵ ጸ ፡ ስᎌ ፡ B.   ⁶ ይስተ᎐ᎌᎌᎌ᎐ ፡ B,
ያስተᎌᎌᎌᎌ᎐ ፡ C.   ⁷ ወዘ᎐ᎌ᎐ᎌ ፡ C.   ⁸ ለᎌᎌᎌ ፡ C.   ⁹ ቤ᎐ ፡ C.
¹⁰ ᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌ᎐ ፡ BC.   ¹¹ ᎌᎌ ፡ add. BC.   ¹² ወ᎐ᎌᎌ ፡ C.   ¹³ ወ
ᎌᎌ ፡ BC.   ¹⁴ ወአ᎐ᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ BC.   ¹⁵ ለ᎐ᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ B.   ¹⁶ ᎌ
ᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ B.   ¹⁷ የ᎐ᎌᎌ ፡ B, ተ᎐ᎌᎌ ፡ C; om. ወ   ¹⁸ ይᎌ
ᎡᎡ ፡ B, ይ᎐ᎡᎡ ፡ C.   ¹⁹ ᎌᎌᎌᎡ ፡ B, ᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ᎌᎌᎡᎡ ፡ C; l. ᎌᎌᎌᎡ ፡
²⁰ ᎌᎌᎌ ፡ om. BC.   ²¹ ለᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ B.   ²² ᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ለᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ B.
²³ ᎌᎌᎌ ፡ B om. C.   ²⁴ ᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ B prim. man.; ᎌ suppl. corr.;
ᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ C.   ²⁵ ᎌᎌᎌ ፡ add. C.   ²⁶ ለᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ BC, q. l.   ²⁷ om.
BC.   ²⁸ ወᎌᎌᎌ ፡ BC.   ²⁹ tr. ᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ለᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡
B, ᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ለᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ C.   ³⁰ ᎌᎌᎌ ፡ B.   ³¹ ወ
ᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ B, ወᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ C; l. ወᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ?   ³² ወᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ B, q. l.
³³ ᎌᎌ ፡ C.   ³⁴ ተᎌᎌᎌ ፡ BC.   ³⁵ ᎌᎌᎌ ፡ BC.   ³⁶ l. om. BC.
³⁷ ᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ወᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ፀᎌᎌᎌ ፡ B; tr. ፀᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ወᎌᎌᎌ ፡ C, q. l.
³⁸ የ᎐ᎌᎌᎌ ፡ BC.   ³⁹ corr. B; C tr. ᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌᎌ᎐ ፡ ለᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ᎌᎌᎌᎌ
ᎌ ፡ እᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ወእᎌᎌᎌᎌ ፡ ᎌᎌᎌ ፡   ⁴⁰ corr. B.

ክቡር ፡ ይሐይስ[1] ፡ አብድንቲሆሙ ፡ ለቅዱሳን[2] ፡ ወሰዱ[3] ፡ ክቡር[4] ፡ ለ
ብሐሩ ፡ ሮጌ ✝ ወሰበ ፡ ሰምዑ[5] ፡ መሀይምናን[6] ፡ ምግባረ ፡ ገድሎሙ ፡
በጎብ[7] ፡ ምእመናን ፡ መሀይምናን ፡ አብጽሑ ፡ ጎቤየ ፡ ለራፉና[8] ፡ አንቤ
ናይት[9] ፡ እንተ ፡ ዘመደ ፡ ቂራሲኖስ[10] ፡ ወነሥአት ፡ አዕጽምቲሆሙ[11] ፡
ለቅዱሳን ፡ ወአንበረቶሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መካን[12] ፡ ሠናይ ፡ ዘስሙ ፡ እስር
ሩ[13] ፡ ቀለደፍሩ[14] ፡ ከመ[15] ፡ ኮሉ[16] ፡ እለ ፡ የሐውሩ ፡ ጎብ ፡ አዕጽምቲ
ሆሙ[17] ፡ ይሴብሕዎ[18] ፡ ለእግዚአብሐር[19] ፡ ወለእግዚእነ[20] ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡
ክርስቶስ ✝ ወልመንፈስ[21] ፡ ቅዱስ ▪ ተገብረዝ[22] ፡ በመንገሥት ፡ ድዮ
ቅልጥያኖስ[23] ፡ ወመክስምያኖስ ፡ በሀገረ ፡ ደብረ ፡ ኒቆምድያ ፡ እምቅ
ድመ ፡ አርባዕ[24] ፡ ቀላውድስ[25] ፡ እኩት ፡ ብሮስ[26] ፡ በወርኅ[27] ፡ ዲዮ
ስ[28] ፡ በዕለተ[29] ፡ ጎሙስ[30] ፡ ዘበጽርእ[31] ፡ ወርኅ[32] ፡ አቴር ፡ ወበግዕዝ ፡
ወርኅ[33] ፡ ጎዳር[34] ፡ ወለነሰ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ንጉሥን ፡ ክርስቶስ[35] ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓ
ለም ፡አሜን ✝

ለዘ[36] ፡ ጸሐፈ ፡ ወለዘ ፡ አጽሐፈ ፡ አቡን[37] ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ወለዘ ፡ አን
በበ ፡ ወለዘ ፡ ተርጐሞ ፡ ወለዘሰምዖ ፡ ጎቡረ ፡ ይምሐረነ ፡ እግዚአብሐ
ር ፡ በመንገሥት[38] ፡ ሰማያት ፡ አሜን ✝

▪ MS. ጎሙስ ፡ ?

[1] ይጌይስ ፡ B, q. l.   [2] ለዲቃን ፡ B.   [3] ወሰዱ ፡ BC.   [4] ክ
ብሩ ፡ B, q. l.; ኩብሩ ፡ C   [5] በጎብ ፡ B, እምጎበ ፡ C.   [6] መሃይምናን ፡
BC.   [7] በጎብ ፡ — መሀይምናን ፡ om. BC.   [8] ለርፉና ፡ B, ለራፉና ፡ C.
[9] አንጌቤናይት ፡ B, አንጌቤናዊት ፡ C.   [10] ቂራሲኖስ ፡ B, ቀራሲኖስ ፡ C, q. l
[11] አዕጽምቲሆሙ ፡ BC.   [12] BC መካን ፡ q. l   [13] እስሩ ፡ B.   [14] ቀ
ለደፍሩ ፡ B, ቀላይድፍሩ ፡ C.   [15] እስመ ፡ BC.   [16] ኩሎሙ ፡ BC.   [17] አዕ
ጽምቲሆሙ ፡ BC.   [18] ይሴብሕዎ ፡ C.   [19] ሕብ ፡ add. C.   [20] እግ
ዘእነ ፡ om. B; ወለወልዱ ፡ C.   [21] ለ om. B.   [22] ተገብረ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ C.
[23] ድዮቅልጥያኖስ ፡ BC.   [24] ፬ C.   [25] ቀለንዲስ ፡ B, ቀለዲዲስ ፡ O.
[26] ብሮር ፡ BC.   [27] በወርኅ ፡ BC.   [28] ድዮስ ፡ BC.   [29] በዕለተ ፡
om. B.   [30] ሐሙስ ፡ BC; ድዮስ ፡ add. B.   [31] ዘበጽዑ ፡ B, ዘበጽርዕ ፡ C.
[32] በወርኅ ፡ B, ወርኅ ፡ C.   [33] ወርኅ ፡ B, om. C.   [34] ጥቅምት ፡ B.
[35] በርከቶሙ ፡ ወጸጋ ፡ ረድኤቶሙ ፡ የሃሉ ፡ ገበርሙ ፡ ወሊደ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡ add. B.
[36] ለዘ ፡ — አሜን ፡ om. C.   [37] አቡን ፡ — ጎቡረ ፡ om. B.   [38] ወያር
ናቶ ፡ ቀደሚ ፡ ምሴሕ ፡ ዘጎመት ፡ ለእለ ፡ ሀለኑ ፡ (prim. man. ሀሌነ ፡ ?) ውስተ ፡
ዛቲ ፡ ደብር ፡ ለዓለሙ ፡ ዓለም ፡ B pro በመንገሥት ፡ ሰማያት ፡

COLOPHON OF MS. C.

ተረፈ ፡ ዘዮ ፡ በተዱአ ፡ ፈቲርፕኅ ፡ ወተስአት ፡ እ.ፈዓ ፡
ቤርተ ፡ ተዙ ፡ ምስ ፡ ኅሴ ፡ ኖቲረ ፡ እ.ፈ ፡ ወዐደ. ፡ ን
ጉፈን ፡ እ.ፈኅ ፡ ወእ.ተ ፡ ፖፈተን ፡ ወሕት ፡ ዝኅርዶ ፡ (ወተ ፡
ሕ ፡ ኅመረ ፡ ወሕት ፡ ፖዱ ፡ add. corr.) ኣኅተ ፡ ዓዶ ፡ እ.ንን ፡

TRANSLATION.

The conflict and martyrdom of the holy Cyprian and of the holy Justa;[1] while the word of the prophets is being fulfilled in these days and the word of our Lord Jesus Christ about the seed of wheat and tares, how they grew, and how Novatus[2] was put to shame and conquered by faith, and how the people were scattered and the wolf.

The holy Cyprian was famous in all lands because he wrote many books, and many who were gone astray he gathered to himself from the wiles of the evil wolf, the serpent of old, envying him his people. And Eutolmius was count of the region of the East when Cyprian the teacher of the Christians was setting aside the glory of the gods and was healing everyone, with a virgin whose name was Justa, and they were disturbing everyone with the books, and their doings were heard of in the region of the East and in every place. And Eutolmius was wroth and he ordered that they cast them into chains and guard them closely[3] and bring them to the city of Damascus. And when they had brought them, then Eutolmius asked them saying, Tell me, Cyprian, art thou the teacher of the Christians, who didst aforetime lead many astray by thy sorcery by the might of the gods? But now by the sorcery of him who was crucified thou dost bring error and dost disturb the ears of men, and dost advance and exalt him who was crucified above the living gods. And the holy Cyprian spoke and said to him, Most wretched man, why hast thou adorned thyself with insolence, and dost thou speak also with pride in the sorceries of demons? For I also once, when I was, with you, equipped with sorcery and with the wisdom of the pagans, since I was blind, slew many and made many commit fornication, and from all this Christ saved me by the hand of his holy virgin. And there was a good scholar,[4] of the house of Claudius, who loved this

[1] The Greek and Arabic call the maiden Justina, while the Syriac, like the Ethiopic, has Justa.

[2] Eth. Nawestos. As in Eusebius, *H. E.,* VI, 45, 1, the Roman Novatianus is meant. *Cf.* Zahn., *op. cit.*

[3] *Lit.,* with laws *or* punishments.

[4] Gr. Sin., σχολαστικὸς τις ᾽Αγλαΐῳ ὀνόματι. Gr. Act. Sanct., Σχολαστικὸς γάρ τις ὀνόματι ᾽Αγλαΐος ὁ τοῦ Κλαυδίου. MS. A has ፆብሴታ፡ evidently as a transliteration of σχολαστικός. ፝ፈ፡ may have been due to connecting ᾽Αγλαΐῳ with ἀγλαός.

virgin, and he was not pleasing to her.[1] And then he promised her a marriage that was according to law, and he has been unable until now to persuade her. And he came unto me and besought me to heal him of the madness of his love. But I, since I believed the books of sorceries, sent a demon to her, and she withstood him with the sign of Christ. And a third time I sent the chief of the demons, and he too returned conquered by that sign. And therefore I desired to know the power of this sign, and I adjured that demon, while angels burned him.[2] And he told it all, that he was the discoverer of evil and of every work of wickedness. And then I came to myself.[3] Then I wrote this to him that was bishop before me, and I brought the books of sorcery unto him while all the honorable men of the city were *present*, and I burned *them* with fire. And now I beseech thee to leave the other superstition and to return unto the Lord, and the Lord shall be praised. And then thou shalt know the invincibleness of the power of Christ. And Eutolmius was exceedingly incensed, and he did not dispute his opinion with him, and he commanded them to hang him up and comb him, and to take turns in beating that blessed virgin also with hard thongs of leather. And the holy virgin said, Praised art thou, O Lord, because when I was unworthy also and when I was a stranger once thou didst make me thine according to thy will to be beaten for thy name's sake. And the soldiers tired themselves out in beating her, while that holy virgin also glorified God. And he ordered them to stop. And then the holy Cyprian spoke. While they were combing him exceeding much, he had not even said anything, but[4] then the blessed Cyprian spoke and said to Eutolmius, Why dost thou exalt thyself, tyrant, against God? And thou art deceitful toward the hope of Christ and alien from the kingdom of heaven, into which I desire to enter, that it may[5] be mine on account of this torture. And Eutolmius spoke saying, But dost thou seek the kingdom of heaven, which is greater than all these tortures thou dost suffer? And he ordered them to lead him and cast him into prison. And he ordered them to put the holy virgin in the house of Teratina.[6] And when she came into that house the whole of the house shone with the grace of Christ.

And after a few days again he ordered them to bring them, and when they came he said to the holy Cyprian, Do not for the sake of a mortal man foolishly consent to die. And the holy Cyprian said to him, That death which is for God, for those that love him secures life eternal. And when he heard this he took counsel and meditated, and he ordered them to heat a frying-pan and to cast into it pitch and fat and wax, and

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[1] *Or*, there was none that was pleasing to, *or* fit for, her.

[2] Gr. Sin., πληρούμενος ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων: Gr. Act. Sanct., ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων μαστιγωθείς: Syr., when the demon was burned by the angel. Perhaps the Greek lying back of the Syriac had πυρούμενος.

[3] *Lit.*, It was I. Gr. Sin., ἀνένηψα ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης: Gr. Act. Sanct., ἀνανήψας ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης.

[4] *Lit.*, and.   [5] *Or*, that it weigh.   [6] AB, Tartinon; C, Tertinus.

to cast the blessed one into it, with the holy virgin. And the flame did not touch them. And the blessed Cyprian entered first into the frying-pan. And the blessed one entered in her turn, and the evil serpent of old cast fear into her heart. And she came and stood by it. And the blessed Cyprian said to her, Come, in the endurance of Christ, thou that hast opened the gate of heaven, and hast made me to see the glory of Christ. And how art thou now conquered, who didst confound the demons and didst hold their chief as nothing, by putting on the sign of Christ? How dost thou now let thyself be deceived by the sting of the adversary? And then making the sign of the cross she entered into the frying-pan. And they were both of them refreshed as with[1] the dew of Hermon. And the blessed Cyprian said, Glory be to God in heaven, and peace on earth. For when Satan fell from heaven peace was wrought in it all,[2] and from the time when Christ came into the world darkness was ordained for Satan, and by the power of the sign of his cross he forgives his servants, and he cast Satan down to his abode in Gehenna. And for this I praise thee, O Lord God of the fathers, and by thy mercy I pass through this torture for thy name's sake, that this our offering of sacrifice also may be fragrant with good odor. And when Eutolmius heard this, he said, I will overcome the madness of your folly. And Athenus[3] his friend who presided with him said to Eutolmius, Your excellency bids me[4] ascend into the heat of this frying-pan in the name of our gods, and we will conquer this his might, even the might of Christ. And Eutolmius gave him permission, and Athenus drew near unto the frying-pan and said, Great is the god Herakles[5] and the father of the gods Asklepius who gives life unto men. And when he drew near unto the frying-pan, the fire found him, and his belly was rent asunder and his bowels gushed out. And Cyprian was serene, praising God with the holy virgin. And when Eutolmius saw this, he said, I fear that the might of Christ is unconquerable, and he has made me sad, for Christ has slain me my excellent friend.

And he called Terentinus[6] his kinsman and said to him, What shall I do to these robbers? And Terentinus said to him, Beware of these holy ones and contend not with these holy ones, because the might of the Christians is unconquerable; but send them unto the king and tell him about them. And Eutolmius wrote thus saying: To Cæsar the great, lord of the earth, Diocletian, greeting. In accordance with the statute of thy kingdom, I have arrested Cyprian, the teacher of the Christians, with a virgin whose name is Justa, of the region of the East. And behold in the report of his case[7] thou shalt hear the punishments and torture with

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[1] *Lit.*, of. [2] *Or*, everyone.

[3] Gr. Sin. and Act. Sanct., 'Αθανάσιος : Syr., Athenus.

[4] Gr., εἰ καλεῖ με ἡ ὑμετέρα ἀρετή. [5] So the Gr.; Syr., Zeus.

[6] A, Tertaras, Terteros; B, Terontius, Tertius; C, Tertianus, Terentius? Gr., Syr., Terentinus.

[7] *Lit.*, his writing.

which I punished them, and they do not obey.[1]   And behold I have sent them unto thine authority.   And when the king read, he wondered at the way the blessed ones had been tortured, and he deliberated with his friends about torturing them again.   And they said to him, Not so, it is well[2] that we let them be and assail not power that is invincible.[3]   And he said, Inasmuch as Cyprian, teacher of Antioch, and the virgin Justa have chosen for themselves the vain teaching of the Christians and have not desired life, but have preferred death, these shall suffer by the sword and shall die.

And they led away the holy one with the virgin to a river named Galius,[4] in the land of Nicomedia, and he asked that they wait for them one hour for prayer.   And he made mention of all the churches that were in the world and of all the servants of Christ.   And he set the virgin at his right hand and sealed her with the sign of Christ, and he prayed that they crown her first,[5] and it was done.   And he said, Praise unto Christ.   And there was a man whose name was Theoktistus, who had come from the country, and he saluted[6] the holy one.[7]   And there was looking on a councillor of King Diocletian, and straightway he ordered them to cut off his head.   And after him *they beheaded* the holy Cyprian also.   And he ordered them to give their bodies to the dogs to eat.

And for many days, *even* for six[8] of them, they guarded their bodies, cast forth without to the wild beasts.   And against them faithful and good and righteous *men*, hearing that the holy ones had been crowned, because he was also a man of their own land, even a Roman, lying in wait for them six days, day and night, [and] deceived all those who were guarding them and took away the bodies of the holy ones which were more precious than gold and gems, and they brought[9] honor to the country of Rome.   And when the faithful heard the manner of their conflict, with faithful believers they brought them unto Rufina, a prophetess,[10] of the family of Carolinus,[11] and she took the bones of the holy ones and put them in a good place, the name of which was 'Esphōrū Qaladaphōrū,[12]

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[1] *Or,* assent.   [2] *Or,* It is not well, etc.

[3] Syr. has simply, Do not withstand the great power of God.

[4] Gr., ποταμῷ τινι Γάλλῳ.   [5] μή πως δειλιάσῃ, the Gr. explains.

[6] So Gr. Act. Sanct., but not Gr. Sin., which here makes Theoktistus the councillor representing Diocletian at the execution.

[7] *Masc.* Cyprian is, of course, meant.   [8] A, three.

[9] *Lit.,* cast, A; BC, we brought; *om.* and.

[10] Reading 𐩣ሲፈት፡ for አገበሳꬉት፡ A, አገገበሳꬉት፡ B, አገገበሳꬉት፡ C.

[11] So BC; A, Kīrasīnos; Syriac, the Claudians; Gr. Act. Sanct., 'Ρουφίνῃ μητρώνῃ γένους Καβάρου; Gr. Sin., 'Ρουφίνα τις καὶ Μητρώνη.

[12] ἐν τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Κλαϊφόρῳ, Gr. Sin.; ἐν τῷ μεσολόφῳ Κλαϊφόρῳ, Cod. Par. 1468, and with a form of this latter reading the translator seems to be struggling.   Eudocia, according to Photius, had τῷ Κλαυδίου φόρῳ, "the Forum of Claudius," to which our Ethiopic comes surprisingly close.   Zahn regarded the text of this Paris codex as most near the original (*Cyprian von Antiochien*, p. 63).

that all who come unto their bones may glorify God and our Lord Jesus
Christ and the Holy Spirit.

This was done in the reign of Diocletian and Maximian, in a city of
the region of Nicomedia, on the fourth day before the Kalends of Octo-
ber,[1] on the fifth day of the month Dius,[2] which is in Syriac the month
Atēr and in Ethiopic the month Hedār[3]—but for us, while Christ is our
king for ever and ever. Amen.

On him who writes it, and on our father John who has it written,
and on him who reads it, and on him who interprets it, and on him who
hears it, may God have mercy upon us all together in the kingdom of
heaven. Amen.

COLOPHON OF MS. C.

The martyrdom of the holy Cyprian and of the holy Justa is finished.
May their blessing be with the soul of their lover 'Iyāsū and his son, our
king 'Iyō'as, and their mother, our queen Walata[4] Giyōrgīs (and with
their handmaiden Walata[4] Shelāsē *add. corr.*), for ever and ever. Amen.

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[1] MS. A, አኩት ፡ በርፍስ ፡ Gr. Sin. has πρὸ τεσσάρων καλανδῶν 'Οκτωβρίῳ β'.
Gr. Act. Sanct. has no date save ἐν ὑπαθείᾳ (*l.* ὑπατείᾳ) Διοκλητιανοῦ.

[2] The first month of the Macedonian year. While in Greek papyri Dius
sometimes corresponds to the Egyptian Pachon (April 26–May 25; *cf.* Gren-
fell and Hunt, *Amherst Papyri*, II, p. 51, B. C. 159), it is here used in the
traditional sense October–November; *cf.* Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 3 : 349.

[3] November–December. The Gr. naturally lacks the Syriac and Ethiopic
datings, just as the Syriac lacks the Ethiopic.

[4] Walata, daughter of.

ABYSSINIAN APOCALYPSES.

By Enno Littmann,
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While I was staying in Jerusalem in December, 1899, and January, 1900, as a member of the American Archæological Expedition to Syria, sent out under the patronage of Mr. V. Everit Macy, Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes, Messrs. Clarence and B. T. B. Hyde, of New York, I made the acquaintance of a number of Abyssinian monks. Notes about the manuscripts and the other property of their convents have already been published in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. XVI. A few Ethiopic manuscripts I collected while I was there: Psalters, hymnals, and prayers—among them a comparatively old manuscript of አርድእት—also Amharic songs and Tigriña prose-pieces (see "Tigriña-Texte im Dialekte von Tanbên," in *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 211–25). Another Ethiopic manuscript was sent to me later to Germany, containing a letter from the writer, two short apocalypses, and a selection of *apophthegmata* (from the መጽሐፈ ፡ ፈላስፋ ፡ ጠቢባን). This manuscript is written on paper, and contains fourteen leaves measuring 0.20×0.13 m., each with nineteen lines in one column, fol. 1 *vo*–3 *vo*, however, and fol. 12 *vo* are blank. It was written by Kīdāna Wald, a young deacon from Shoa (see *ZA.*, Vol. XVI, p. 112, col. *a*), probably during the summer of 1900. The writing is bold and uneven, but plain and legible.

The letter on fol. 1 *ro* reads as follows:

እዮብተር ፡ ሊትሞን ፡ ርእስ ፡ ጠቢባን ። ናሁ ፡ ጸሐፍኩ ፡ ለከ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ መጽ ሐፈ ፡ በብዙኅ ፡ አስተሐምሞ ፡ ወጽሐቅ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይኩንክ ፡ ረባሕ ፡ ወለይምሰል ክ ፡ ዘይትረከብ ፡ በጎስ ፡ ቱሉ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ በቤት ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ወበረር ፡ ሥልጣ ን ፡ ወብዙኅ ፡ ብየ ፡ ዘእጽሕፍ ፡ ለከ ፡ ወባሕቸ ፡ ኢያእመርኩ ፡ መፍቅደክ ። ክ ሥት ፡ ሊተ ፡ ማፃውዎክ ፡ ወእገብር ፡ ለከ ፡ ዷእመ ፡ ወርቅስ ፡ ወብሩር ፡ እልብየ ፡ እምዘብየስ ፡ እሁበክ ፡ ወኢይከልእክ ። ወይእዜሂ ፡ እመ ፡ አስተፍግሕከሂ ፡ እዜ ፡ አስተሬሥሐክ ፡ ዾጋረ ። እንዘ ፡ እብል ፡ አርኅብ ፡ አፉክ[1] ፡ ወእመልእ ፡ ለከ ፡ እስ

[1] Read 'afūka; the letter fū is missing in the font of the Press.

መ ፡ ብዘሳ ፡ ብንበየ ፡ ዘናፃ ፡ ወምፆጢራ ፡ ሰኢትዮጵያ ፡ ይበ ፡ ኪዳነ ፡ ወልድ ፡
ተጽሕሬ ፡ አመ ፡ ፲ ወ ፭ ሰመስከረም ፡፡

(Address.) Behold, I have written for thee this book with much care
and zeal, that it may bring thee gain. And believe not that it is found
everywhere: [nay, it is] only in the "House of the Kingdom and the
Convent of the Reign" [i. e., the Abyssinian convent in Jerusalem]. And
I have much that I might write to thee, only I do not know thy pleasure.
Reveal unto me thy wish, and I shall do so for thee. Gold and silver have
I not, but from what I have I shall give thee and not keep from thee.
And now if thou rejoicest me, I shall rejoice thee afterwards, saying:
Open thy mouth and I shall fill it for thee. For plentiful with me are
the history and the mysteri[es] of Ethiopia. [Thus] spake Kīdāna
Wald. Written on the 15th of Maskarram [= September 25].

The two apocalypses fill fol. 4 ro–10 vo. The first is called
"The Third Miracle of St. Victor" and is represented as a vision
and a prophecy of St. Victor unto his mother Martha; the second
is given the form of a speech of "our Lord." The leading
thought in each of them is that the king of Abyssinia and the
king of Rome will go with their patriarchs and armies to Jeru-
salem, that there the mass will be celebrated by both parties, that
the Holy Ghost will come down from heaven and rest upon the
host of the Abyssinians, and that then all — Jews, Muhammedans,
and Romans — will be converted to the "true faith" of the Abys-
sinians. This is partly based on the *Kebra Nagast;* see F.
Praetorius, *Fabula de Regina Sabala apud Aethiopes*, Halle,
1870, p. 28, note 3; a full edition of this interesting and impor-
tant book, by Professor Bezold, of Heidelberg University, is now
in preparation. The details differ in the two versions. Somewhat
indistinct is the rôle assigned to the Coptic church, of which the
Abyssinian church is a dependent (although the Abyssinians in
Jerusalem do not like to acknowledge it now; see *ZA.*, Vol. XVI,
pp. 102–105). Both the friendly relations and the recent quar-
rels seem to be reflected in our texts. At any rate it will be safe
to suppose that the apocalyptic ideas put forth here were fostered
especially in the sixteenth century A. D., the time when the
Roman church tried to bring the Abyssinians under her tutelage
and when the well known ecclesiastical war in Abyssinia was
fought.

Whether this "History of Ethiopia" (ታሪክ ፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ), as
Kīdāna Wald calls it,[1] was copied by him from another manu-

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[1] The first Apocalypse he entitles also "History of Victor."

script, or whether it is an original composition of his own, he does not say. Had I asked him, he would certainly have asserted the latter; and this is not unlikely to be the case. Kīdāna Wald is a poet: when I left Jerusalem, he presented me with an Amharic hymn in my honor (ፊ), adding that the king of Abyssinia would give a village or a herd of cattle to the poet who made such an ode for him. I not being a king, and having no village or cattle, had to express my gratitude in some other way. It is therefore possible that he, having literary gifts, composed these two texts himself, and that from his knowledge of the *Kebra Nagast*, of the legend of Victor and of the New Testament he drew the form in which he presents the apocalyptic ideas which are current among the Abyssinians at the present day, and have perhaps been so for several hundred years.

Victor must be a popular saint in the Coptic church, to judge from the elaborate descriptions of his life in the "Éloges du Martyr Victor, Fils de Romanus," published and translated by M. U. Bouriant, in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française*, Vol. VIII, 2, Paris, 1893 (*cf.* also Atkinson, "On South-Coptic Texts: a Criticism on M. Bouriant's 'Éloge du Martyr Victor, fils de Romanus,'" *Proc. of the Royal Irish Academy*, 3d series, Vol. II). Besides the account of Victor's life in the Synaxarium (his day is the 27th of Mīyāzyā = May 4), there seems to be known only one Ethiopic manuscript "Life of Victor," in the d'Abbadie collection, No. 179. Kīdāna Wald may have read both: that the latter is not mentioned in my catalogue of the manuscripts in Jerusalem, is perhaps due to the fact that it was the private property of one of the monks, for I did not have time to catalogue the books owned in private by the monks themselves. In the Coptic *Éloges* there are only two formal points of similarity with our present text: 1) the fact that Victor spoke to his mother Martha before he went to the prison (Bouriant, pp. 179 *sq.*); 2) the fact that miracles and visions of Victor are reported after his death (*loc. cit.*, pp. 234 *sq.*).

The second apocalypse (MS. fol. 7 *vo*–10 *vo*) is much influenced by the biblical Book of Revelation; compare especially vs. 21 with Rev. 1:14 *sq.;* 4:3 *sq.* Also vs. 2 probably goes back to Luke 13:30 by the way of Rev. 6:16. The abrupt beginning of the apocalypse under discussion seems to imply that it was once connected with a preceding part. But this is not necessarily

so. We have in these two brief documents, written and perhaps composed by Kīdāna Wald, true apocalyptic literature that takes us back, as it were, to the times of the late Jewish and of the early Christian literary activity. They are both of them instructive and interesting, as to the growth of such ideas and the literary form in which they are written down.

In editing this manuscript I have divided the text into verses, and introduced a very few orthographical changes. Except for these I have given the original exactly as it was written. This has been the more possible, since Kīdāna Wald has shown a remarkable knowledge of Geez and has made almost no grammatical mistakes at all. Of course, as in all later Ethiopic manuscripts, አ and ዐ, ዑ, ሐ, and ኀ are constantly confused; ኃ is usually the sign for both *ḫā* and *ḫǎ* (*cf.* Praetorius, *Grammatik der Tigriñasprache*, p. 20). Consequently my changes affect only the spelling of the so-called gutturals; in every case where a more serious change has been made I have given the original reading in the annotation. Square brackets [ ] indicate additions to the manuscript or to the literal translation; the letters or words included in round brackets ( ) should perhaps better be omitted.

I.

ግልጽ ፡ ተአምር ፡ ዘቅዱስ ፡ ፌቅጦር ።

1. ወእንዘ ፡ ተወ
ም ፡ በሴሊት ፡ አስተርአያ ፡ ፌቅ[ጦ]ር ፡ ወልዱ ፡ ወይቤሳ ፡ ስላም ፡ ለኪ ፡ ማርታ ፡ እምነ ፡

2. ወይእዜፌ ፡ እኂ ፡ አሰብወኪ ፡ አእምነ ፡ እታገብሪ ፡ ወርቀ ፡ ወብሩሬ ፡ ንባ ፡ ዐዐፃ ፡ ለዛቲ ፡ ቤት ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ እስም ፡ ይበጽሕ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ እመ ፡ ይመጽኡ ፡ ተንባላት ፡ ወይገኑ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ኵሉ ፡ ጋዐብ ፡

3. ወእመ ፡ መጽኡ ፡ ውእቶሙ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ርእዩ ፡ ዘከተ ፡ ወርቀ ፡ ወብሩሬ ፡ ወኵሉ ፡ ዐዐፃ ፡ ይነሥቶ ፡ ወያመዘብርዎ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ፍቅሬ ፡ ወርቅ ።

4. እሳ ፡ እንቲስ ፡ ሕዝቢ ፡ በእእባን ፡ ወበዐዐው ፡ ወበሐፂን ፡ ወትነብር ፡ ነዋ ኃ ፡ መዋዕስ ።

5. ወሶበ ፡ ሰመዓት ፡ ማርታ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይነኑ ፡ ተንባላት ፡ በብሔር ፡ ጋብ ፡ ጋዘዝት ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሕገ ፡ ክርስተስ ፡

6. ወተቤ ፡ እመስ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ወልድየ ፡ ለምንትኬ ፡ እነም[1] ፡ በሐፂ ፡ ቤት ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡

[1] MS. ይነም.

7. ወይዌሳ ፡ ፈቅጦር ፡ ኢትጋዜ ፡ እእማኒ ፡ እስመ ፡ ሕም ፡ ይመጽአ ፡ ተን
ባሳት ፡ ኢይደሪዕ ፡ ሕ7 ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኄሩ ፡ በሐውርት ።

8. እስመ ፡ ይተበር ፡ እሚን ፡ ጸሱት ፡ ወጸሱት ፡ ወተርቢን ፡ ወተፈደፍራ ፡ ጽ
ንን ፡ ፃይማኖት ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይተበሩ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ዐልፃን ፡ ተንባሳት ፡

9. ጋበ ፡ መንበር ፡ ማርቆስ ፡ ኢይትጋደግ ፡ ተስደፕ ፡ ሲቀ ፡ ጺጻት ፡ ወበስ
ይ ፡ ሲቀ ፡ ጺጻተኒ ፡ ኢይትጋደግ ፡ በበመተልዉ ፡ ተስደፕ ፡ ጺጻት ፡ ወሕዲስ ፡
ቅጺስት ፡ ቀሳውስት ፡ ወደቀናት ።

10. ወመንግሥት ፡ ተንባሳተስ ፡ ሩዳጓን ፡ መዋዕል ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይገብ
ሩ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ፈቃይ ፡ እገዚአብሔር ።

11. ወእምድጓረ ፡ ሩዳፕ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ይገም ፡ እገዚእብሔር ፡ ሳዐስ ፡ እዋጓ
ረ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ብእሰ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ መወፍቀረ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወበእሁ ፡ ዘእሁ ፡ ይተን
መቹ ፡ ተንባሳት ፡ ወእረማውያን ።

12. ወይገርሩ ፡ ሱቹ ፡ ፀጓሥት ፡ እሕዛብ ፡ ወፃብዓውያን ፡ ወይገብሑ ፡ ውስ
ተ ፡ ሕብስቲዎም ፡ ወይስተርእፉ ፡ እስክ ፡ እጽናፈ ፡ ዓለም ።

13. ወሲቀ ፡ ጺጻት ፡ ዘይሰፀም ፡ በውእቹ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ይትጋበስ ፡ በውስተ ፡
ይበር ፡ ወይዴሴ ፡ ጋበ ፡ እገዚአብሔር ፡ በእንት ፡ ሕዝቡ ፡ ወይስምዕ' ፡ እምሳኩ ፡
ጸሱት ።

14. ወይበጽሕ ፡ ጓቡሁ ፡ መኩዝን ፡ ሠራዊት ፡ እማገብ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡
ወይገም ፡ ሳዐስ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ገብፅ ፡ X ወ ፯ እውራሃ ፡ ወይኗእዉ ፡ በሰሳም ፡ ወ
በፍግሐ ፡ ገቢይ ።

15. ወእምዝ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይመጽእ ፡ ዝንቹ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ርኛ ፡ ይመልእ ፡ መተ ፡
ወይጽሕፍ ፡ ጋበ ፡ እብዲደዉ ፡ ፃይማት ፡ ወይትነሦሉ ፡ ምስሉቱ ፡ ፳ ፃይማት ፡ ወ
ይገይ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ባሕር ፡ እስክ ፡ ኢይሩሳሌም ፡

16. ወሶበ ፡ ይስምዕ ፡ መኩዝን ፡ ንንም ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ይጉይይ ፡ በፋቡስ ፡ ም
ስለ ፡ ሠራዊቹ ። ወይበጽሕ ፡ ጋበ ፡ ባዐሳይ ፡ ገብፅ ፡ ወይእለክ ፡ ጋበ ፡ ንንም ፡ ኢ
ትዮጵያ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይጠ[ይ]ቅ ፡ ገበረ ፡ ዘኮ ።

17. ወሶበ ፡ ይስምዕ ፡ ንንም ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ይመልእ ፡ መተ ፡ ወይመጽእ ፡
ጋበ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ገብፅ ፡ ወይገም ፡ ባዐሳ7 ፡ ወይፈኑ ፡ ሲቀ ፡ ጺጻተዉ ፡ ጋበ ፡ ንተ
ም ፡ ርኛ ፡ ወካእለን ፡ ሱበ ፡ ምስሉ ፡ እግ ፡ ገበሮቹ ፡

18. ወሶበ ፡ የሐወሩ ፡ እሙንቹ ፡ ካዐስ ፡ ወእተም ፡ ይፈጒዉ ፡ ሲቀ ፡ ጺጻ
ቲዎም ፡ ወይተበሩ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ፯ መካን ፡ ጉባኤ ፡ ወይትሐተፉ ፡ በበይናቲዎም
በእንተ ፡ ፃይማኖት ፡ ርትዕት ፡

19. ወእምድጓረ ፡ ተፍጻጓት ፡ ፃዋት ፡ ይብል ፡ ሲቀ ፡ ጺጻት ፡ ኢትዮጵያ

<hr>

¹ MS. ወይስምዖ.

ሰሬቀ ፡ ጺጹሳት ፡ ርግን ፡ ንሐርኬ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኢየሩሳሴም ፡ ከመ ፡ ናብፅል ፡ ንሕኬ ፡ ፳ ኤ ፡ ምስሌ ፡ ፳ ቱ ፡ ነገሥትነ ።

20. ወዙሱ ፡ ለ ፳፪ ዱ ፡ ይቀም ፡ ወይዶሰ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መካ ፡ መቅደስ ፡ መን ፡ ገሞቸ ፡ ወዙሱ ፡ ሱብኤ ፡ (H)ይሬኢ ፡ ገበ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይወርድ ፡ እምስግአይ ፡ ገበ ፡ ቱርኖት ፡ በርትዖት ፡ ገ[ይ]ማኖት ።

21. ወከመዝ ፡ የኃብሩ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ወሊቃነ ፡ ጺጹሳት ፡ ወይትነሥኡ ፡ ወይመ ጽኡ ፡ ገበ ፡ ኢየሩሳሴም ፡ ወይበውኡ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ መቅደስ ፡ ወያዐርጉ[1] ፡ ቱ ርባን ፡ ሳዐሴሁ ።

22. ወእምድኃረ ፡ እንብዐተ ፡ ወንገሬ ፡ ይሬኢ ፡ ዙሱ ፡ ሱብኤ ፡ [ገበ ፡] መን ፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይወርድ ፡ ሳዐለ ፡ ቱርባን ፡ ሊቀ[2] ፡ ጺጹሳት ፡ እለ ፡ እስከ[ን] ድርያ ።

23. ወሰበ ፡ ይሬእዩ ፡ ርም ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ይፈርሁ ፡ ፈድፋደ ፡ ወየኃዝኑ ፡ ወይት ሐውኩ ፡ ወይነሥኡ ፡ ፉብስተሙ ፡ እምላዐለ ፡ ማዕዶቲዎሙ ፡ ወይዮርዉ ፡ ውስ ተ ፡ ባሕር ፡ ወያውዕዩ ፡ በእሳት ፡ መጻሕፍቲዎሙ ፡

24. ወይብሱ ፡ በሁክት ፡ እሴ ፡ ለነ ፡ እስመ ፡ ተሞልጠነ ፡ ኃጢአት ፡ ሳዐሴ ነ ። ወባሕቱ ፡ ኢኮ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ኃጢአትነ ፡ እላ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ብዙኃ ፡ ኃጢአ ት ፡ ዘገብሩ ፡ አበዊነ ፡ ቢይድፈረተሙ ፡ እኪተ ፡

25. ወበይእቲ ፡ ሰነት ፡ ያደንኑ ፡ ወይሰግዱ ፡ ሰሬቀ ፡ ጺጹሳት ፡ ዘኢትየጽ[ይ] ። ወይብልዓ ፡ ባርክ ፡ ሳዐሴ ፡ እዉነ ፡

26. ወይትእምኁ ፡ ፳ ቱ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ በበይናቲዎሙ ። ወይትካየዱ ፡ ወየኃይ ደ ፡ ንኍሠ ፡ ርም ፡ ውስተ ፡ ምድረ ፡ ገብፅ ፡ ወእለ ፡ እኍሁ ፡ ወንኍሠ ፡ ኢትዮጵ ያ ፡ ሐሙሁ ። ወይገብኡ ፡ ለሰበሐርሙ ።

27. በአማንኬ ፡ እእምረ ፡ ገቢይ ፡ ፍሥሐ ፡ ይከውን ፡ ለሰብእ ፡ በውእቱ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ እስከ ፡ ይቀውሙ ፡ ሕያወን ፡ ሳዐለ ፡ መቃብረ ፡ ምዉታን ፡ ወይብልዓ መ ፡ ተንሥኡኬ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትርእዩ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ፍግን ፡ ገቢይ ፡ ወጸጋተ ፡ ብዙኃተ ፡ ወ ናያተ ፡ እንተ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ለነ ፡ እገዚእሐብሔር ፡

28. ወበውእቱ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ይከውን ፡ ዙሱ ፡ ሱብኤ ፡ ገባርያ ፡ ሬቃይ ፡ እገ ዚእሐብሔር ።

29. ወንኍሠ ፡ ኢትዮጵያ ፡ ያወስብ ፡ ወሰተ ፡ ንኍሠ ፡ የናናውያን ፡ ዘውእት መ ፡ አፍር[ን]ጋውያን ።

30. ወይከውን ፡ ገቢይ ፡ ሰላም ፡ ወፍሥሐ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዙሱ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ፱ ዓመ ት ፡ ወይገብር ፡ እገዚእሐብሔር ፡ ምሕረት ፡ ሳዐለ ፡ ሕዝቡ ።

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[1] MS. የዓርጉ .   [2] MS. ሊቀነ .   [3] MS. ሰሬቃነ .

81. ወእምድኅሬ : ፈደመ : ነገርታ : ሴእሙ : ዘንተ : ኵሉ : ኅንቢተ : ቅዱ
ስ : ሬቅጦር : ይዜሳ : ሴእሙ : ሰላም : ሴኪ : ኢማርታ : እምየ : ወዘንተ : [ብሂሉ :]
ሖሬ : እምኔን ።

82. ወውእት : ጊዜ : ቶሐት : እምንጥማ : ወዘበረት : እንዘ : ትትፈግሕ ።
ወእፈድፈረት : ሐሬ : ቤተ : ክርስቲያን : እምይእቲ : ዕሰት : ወተፈሥሐት :
ወእእኩተት ።

<p align="center">ተፈደመ : ስብሐት : ሴእ ።</p>

<h2 align="center">II.</h2>

በስመ : ሥሉስ : እብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፩ እምላክ ።

1. ወይቤሉ : እግዚእ : ስግዐ : እንገርከ : በእንተ : ይእቲ : ዕሰት : ዘኢይ
ትከሥዐ : ይዜኬው[1] : በልባሳ : ፍጡራን : በእንተ : ኃይስ : ምንዳቤ : ወመንሱት :
ዘይከውን : ላዕለ : ኵሉሙ : ኃጥኣን ።

2. እስከ : ይብዮሙ : ለኢዶባር : ድቁ : ላዕሱነ : ወለእውግርኒ : ድፍኑ :

3. ገ : ሰግኑ : ትዳሕ : ላዕሴነ : ወኪደዝ ። ንዴ : ባሕር : እስጦመነ : ወ፬ብ
ዝ : እምገጸ : ገርማ : መግቱ : ለእግዚእብሔር ።

4. እስመ : ተንሥእ : መዓተ : ኃይሇ : ይቀጠቅጣ : ለምድር ። ወናሁ : [ተ]
ሐሰወ : ኵሉሙ : ፍጡራን : እስከ : [ኢ]ያስተርእዩ ።

5. እይቲ : ሀሉ : ፀሐይ : ወእይቲ : ትኃብስ : ወርኁ : ወእር : ከመ : ፩ዐል :
ትገ፬ሩ፣ : ከዮክብት ።

6. ወሰማያትኒ : ዘእንበለ : ድምፅ : ሰሰላ : ወምድር : ጐየት ።

7. ወእብሐርትኒ : ተሐብኡ : ወተመሰዉ : ኵሉ : ፍጡረት : እምወእነት :
እሳቱ : ሰዘይኤንን ።

8. እስመ : በቡግን : እምነሁ : ካልኣን : ፍጡራን : እለ : ተደምሰሱ : እምቅ
ድሙ : እማንቱ : መዋዕል ።

9. ወይትነሥሇ : ፪ ነገሥት ። ፩ ንጉሥ : ርም : ወ ፩ ንጉሥ : ኢትዮጵያ ። ወ
ይትጋብሇ : በዝ : መካን : ምስለ : ሊቃነ : ጲሳቲዎሙ ። ወምስለ : ሠራዊቶሙ :
ወምስለ : ኵሉ : ሕዝብ ።

10. ወይታበሩ : በዝየ : መጠ : ፪ እውራ፬ : እንዘ : ያስተራትዑ : ገይማኖተ ።

11. ወፀግነ : ይከውን : ወካሕ : በቃል : ወበእሳን ። እንዘ : ይብሉ : ገይማ
ኖት : ዘዚእነ : ይፄይስ ።

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[1] MS. ይዜነው .

[2] Read *tanagfa* (*cf.* p. 83, note).

[3] The ወ stands in the MS. before እምቅድመ (in vs. 8), but its transposition is necessarily required by the context.

12. ወእምድኅረዝ ፡ ይትኀግእ ፡ ሌቀ ፡ ጸዳሳት ፡ ዘእሰለስክንድርያ ፤ ወይብ ል ፡ በቅድመ ፡ ኵሉ ፡ ጉባኤ ፤

13. ስምዑኒ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ እለ ፡ ጸውዖሙ ፡ እንዚሕብሔር ፡ ኀበ ፡ ሕዳስ ፡ ልደ ት ፡፡ ወኀበ ፡ ጥንት ፡ ተፈጥሮ ፡፡ ከመ ፡ ይረሲክሙ ፡ መሲሓውያ[1] ፡ በእሜነ ፡ ወ ልዱ ፡ ብሑት ፤

14. ርኢኩ ፡ ዮም ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ሴሊት ፡ ራእየ ፡ ገሩመ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡፡ ወባሕቱ ፡ ኢ ይገኅር ፡ ዘራእየ ፡ እስመ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘየእምዚ ፡፡

15. ወባሕቱ ፡ ለእኩ ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ወእምጽሕኤ ፡ መሬተ ፡ እምጕልጕታ ፡ ወእዝስንስ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡፡

16. ወገገበሴ ፡ ቅዱሴ ፡ እ ፡ እንተ ፡ ፲ ገጽ ፡ ወእንተ ፡ እንተ ፡ ፲ ገጽ ፡ ገበር ፡ ቅዱሴ ፡፡

17. ወኀበ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ ተእምር ፡ እምስማይ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ፲ እምኔነ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይሬእዩ ፡ ኵሉ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ በውእቶኬ ፡ ፖይማኖት ፡ ንጓበር ፡ ኵልነ ፡፡

18. ወይብሉ ፡ ኵሉ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ በ ፲ አፍ ፡ መመርነ ፡ መመርነ ፡፡

19. ወይገብሩ ፡ ቅዳሴ ፡ ወይብሉ ፡ ኪራያሳይሶን ፡፡ ወይብሉ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡ ብዑ ዕ ፡ ውእቶ ፡ ዘይሬኤ ፡ ማኅሰቅት ፡ ለዝገገር ፡፡

20. ወእይሁድኒ ፡ ወተንባላትኒ ፡ ወእረሚኒ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ከመዝ ፡፡ ወንሕዚ ፡ ንኩ ውን ፡ ክርስቲያነ ፡ ሰለም ፡ ርኢነ ፡ ዮም ፡ ተእምረ ፡ እምስማይ ፡ ወይደገሙ ፡ ኪርያሳይሶን ፡ ወይኄልሉ ፡፡

21. ወሶቤሃ ፡ ይወርድ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ በርእየት ፡ ርጕብ ፡ ፀእዳ ፤ ገጹ ፡ ከመ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወክግዱ ፡ ኀዋ ፡ ከመ ፡ ንስር ፡፡

22. ወጸጕረ ፡ ዘኑ ፡ ከመ ፡ እንቁ ፡ ኢያስጲድ ፡፡ ወሰርዲዮን ፡ ወእክናፈሁ ፡ ይበርቅ ፡ ከመ ፡ ፀአዕ ፡ መጠነ ፡ ፪ ዓመት ፡ ወከመ ፡ ቀስት ፡ ይመና ፤

23. ወእገሪሁኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ ብርት ፡ ሊባኖስ ፡ ርሱን ፤ ወእዕይንቲሁኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ ፀ ሐይ ፡ ዘያንፀበርቅ ፡፡

24. ከርሱ ፡ ሠሌዳ ፡ ከመ ፡ በረድ ፡ ፀጓዳ ፡ ወእምእፈሁ[2] ፡ ይወጽእ ፡ ልሳነ ፡ እሳት ፡ ዘቦቱ ፡ ፲ ወ ፬ ፡ አዝፉር ፡ ወደብ ፡ ርኡሱ ፡ ትኩል ፡ ማዕተብ ፡ ብርፃን ፤

25. ወማዕክስ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ማዕተብ ፡ ያስተርኢ ፡ ገዖደ ፡ ከመ ፡ በገዖ ፡ ፀጓደ ፡፡ ወቦቱ ፡ ፲ እቅርንት ፡ ወ ፲ አዕይንት ፤

26. ወይተብብ ፡ ገዖደ ፡ በቃስ ፡ እንሰመሕየው ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ እ ፡ ውእቶ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ዘቤተ ፡ ልሔም ፡ ወይሁዳ ፡፡

27. ወዘንተ ፡ ብሂሎ ፡ ይ ተብር ፡ ዲበ ፡ ፉርባኑ ፡ ሰሊቀ ፡ ጸዳሳት ፡ ዘእሰለስክ ንድርያ ፤ ወእምዝ ፡ የኀርግ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይሬእይዎ ፡ ኵሉ ፡ ሕዝብ ፡፡ ወእክፈሁ ፡ ይደልል ፡ ዓለም ፡፡

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[1] MS. መሲሐውይን.   [2] Read *wa'em'afuhu* (*cf.* p. 83, note).

28. ወሶቤን ፡ ይፀውዕ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ኢትዮብያ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሠራዊቶ ፡ እስመ ፡ ርእ
ዮ ፡ ለእንዚእብሔር ፡ በአፅይንቲዋሙ ፡ ወቀም ፡ ቱሱ ፡ ዓለም ፡ በየማዖተ ፡
ዚእሁ ።

29. ወርዕምስ ፡ የነወይዉ ፡ ወይፀርዉ ፡ መጺሕፍቲዋሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ባሕር ።
ወይጠመቁ ፡ ርዮሬ ፡ ወእይሁዶሬ ፡ ወተንባላትኒ ፡ ወእረሚሬ ፡ ቱሉሙ ፡ ጓዑሬ ፡
በስመ ፡ ሥሱስ ፡ ቅዱስ ።

30. ወይጸርሐ ፡ ዐዋዴ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብሱ ፡ ቀፈሙስ ፡ ሐዋርያት ፡ ሰበኩ ፡ ለነ ፡
ውስተ ፡ ዓለም ። ወዮምስ ፡ ሰሊሁ ፡ ሐዋርያ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ለነ ፡ እንዚእነ ፡ በከመ ፡ ርኢ
ከምዎ ፡ ወስማዕክምዎ ፡ ቃሉ ፤

31. ሐሩ ፡ ስብኩ ፡ ለሰዘመድክሙ ፡ እይሁድ ፡ ለእይሁድ ፡ ወተንባላት ፡ ለተ
ንባላት ፡ ወእረሚ ፡ ለእረሚ ፡ ወዘዝሰበ ፡ ጓብየ ፡ ትትሀየ ፡ ስይፍ ።

32. ወይእተ ፡ አሚረ ፡ እሴላ ፡ እምብዝኃ ፡ ሠራዊቶ ፡ ለንጉሠ ፡ ኢትዮጽያ ፡
ጸሊማን ፡ ወእጋራውያን ፡ ወብዙኃን ። ወኢትበጽሖሙ ፡ በበእሕቲ ፡ እብን ፡ ለነ
ሚተታ ፤

33. ወከመዝ ፡ ውእቹ ፡ ትእምርቶ ፡ ለውእቱ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ጸሕም ፡ ወሳህይ ፡
ወራትዕ ፡ ወይሥዐር ፡ ለንጉሠ ፡ ምስር ፡ ወይሥይም ፡ ህየንቱሁ ፡ ካልአ ። ወይም
ይጣ ፡ ለነገዖን ፡ ከመ ፡ ይንግእ ፡ ጸባሕት ፡ እምገብዐ ።

34. ወንጉሠ ፡ ሮጻ ፡ ይመልኬ ፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም ፡ ወከመዝ ፡ ትእምርቶ ፡ ለው
እቹ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ሳህይ ፡ ወዞዊኃ ፡ ዘቦቹ ፡ ትእምርተ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ውስተ ፡ አጥባቲሁ ።

35. ወየእተዉ ፡ ለሰብሔርሙ ፡ ወይትእሥሩ ፡ አ ጎየ ፡ አጋንንት ፡ መጠነ ፡ ፱
ጓመት ።

36. ወይከውን ፡ ዘነን ፡ ወፍሥሐ ፡ ወሰላም ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቱሱ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ወእ
ምብዝን ፡ ሰላም ፡ ይዘንጉም ፡ ዝናም ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ይመና ። ፲ ዕለታተ ።

TRANSLATION.

I.

The Third Miracle of Saint Victor.

1. And when she was sleeping at night, her son Victor appeared to her and said unto her: "Hail to thee, Martha, my mother!

2. "And now I teach thee, O my mother, let no gold nor silver be put on the beams of this church; for the days shall come, when the Muhammedans shall arrive and rule over all Egypt.

3. "And when they have arrived, if they see gold and silver and all [1] its beams, they will tear down and destroy it because of their love of gold.

[1] So the MS.; read በኵሱ "on all"?

4. "But do thou build of stones and of beams and of iron, and it shall endure many days."

5. And when Martha heard that the Muhammedans would rule in the land of Egypt, she was grieved for the religion of Christ.

6. And she said: "If it be thus, my son, why shall I labour to build a church?"

7. And Victor said unto her: "Be not grieved, O my mother! For when the Muhammedans come, the religion of Christ shall not cease to be in all countries.

8. "Nay, true fasting and prayer and communion shall continue, and the strength of faith shall be mighty, whilst they dwell with the heretical Muhammedans.

9. "With the see of Marcus, the patriarch shall not cease to be invested; and by the hand of the patriarch there shall not cease to be invested in order archbishops and bishops, priests, and deacons.

10. "And the kingdom of the Muhammedans shall last few days, if the Christians do the will of God.

11. "And after a few days, God shall make to rule over the lands of Ethiopia a holy man that loveth Christ, and by his hand the Muhammedans and the pagans shall be destroyed.

12. "And the kings of the nations and the Egyptians shall [come to] submit to him, and they shall go back to their homes and shall be seen unto the ends of the world.

13. "And the patriarch who shall be invested in those days shall hide himself in a mountain; and he shall pray to God for his people, and his God shall hear his prayer.

14. "And a general of the army shall come unto him from the king of Ethiopia, and he shall rule over the land of Egypt eleven months, and they shall be in peace and great joy.

15. "And after that, when this shall come to pass, the king of Rome shall be full of wrath, and he shall write to his friends the kings. And seven kings shall rise with him, and he shall travel on the sea unto Jerusalem.

16. "But when the general of the king of Ethiopia heareth [this], he shall flee in secret with his army. And he shall come to Upper Egypt, and shall send to the king of Ethiopia making him to know the things that have happened.

17. "And when the king of Ethiopia heareth this, he shall be full of wrath and shall come to the land of Egypt and rule over it and send his patriarch to the king of Rome and others with him of his men of might.

18. "And when they go, they also shall send their patriarch; and [these two] shall be in one place together and hold a council with one another about the true faith.

19. "And after the end of a year, the patriarch of Ethiopia shall say to the patriarch of Rome: 'Let us go to Jerusalem that we both may celebrate [the mass] with both our kings.

20. "'And each one shall rise and pray in the holy place of his kingdom, and all men shall look upon the Holy Ghost when he cometh down from heaven upon the host [which is offered] in the true faith.'

21. "And thus the kings and the patriarchs shall unite and rise and go to Jerusalem, and they shall enter into the holy place and shall celebrate the mass upon it.

22. "And after the reading of the gospel, all men shall see the Holy Ghost coming down upon the host of the patriarch of Alexandria.

23. "And when [the people of] Rome see this, they shall be in great fear and grief and distress, and they shall take their bread from their tables and throw [it] into the sea, and they shall burn their books with fire.

24. "And they shall say in distress: Woe unto us, for sin hath become powerful over us. Only this is not because of our sins, but because of the many sins which our fathers have committed in their wicked pride.

25. "And in that hour they shall bow down and fall before the patriarch of Ethiopia, and they shall say unto him: 'Bless us, our father!'

26. "And the two kings shall embrace each other and make a covenant. And the king of Rome shall leave his brother's son in the land of Egypt, and the king of Ethiopia his son-in-law; and they shall go back to their country.

27. "Verily, O my mother, there shall be great joy to men in those days, so that even the living shall stand upon the graves of the dead and shall say unto them: 'Rise, that ye may see this great joy and the manifold beauteous favors which God hath bestowed upon us!'

28. "And in those days all men shall be doers of the will of God.

29. "And the king of Ethiopia shall wed the daughter of the king of the Greeks, which are the Franks.

30. "And there shall be great peace and joy in the whole world forty years. And God shall show his mercy unto his people."

31. And after he had finished telling his mother all this prophecy, Saint Victor said unto his mother: "Hail to thee, O Martha, my mother!" And [having] thus [spoken], he left her.

32. And at that moment she awoke from her sleep and was in joy. And she built with zeal the church from that day forward, and she rejoiced and gave thanks unto him.

[This] is finished: praise be to God!

II.

In the name of the Triune, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, One God!

1. And our Lord spake unto him: Hearken, I will tell thee of that day which cannot be told of by the tongue of mortals because of the greatness of the anguish and of the affliction that shall come upon all sinners.

2. Until they shall say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us.

3. Come, O south wind, sweep down upon us and bury us. Come, O sea, overflow us and hide us from the sight of the terror of God's wrath.

4. For his mighty wrath hath risen to shake the earth. And behold, all mortals are concealed so that they [do not] appear to us.

5. Where is the sun? And where is hidden the moon? And how is it that the stars fall down like leaves?

6. And heaven also is gone without a sound. And the earth hath passed away.

7. And the seas are hidden, and the whole creation is melted by the blaze of the fire of him who judgeth.

8. For happier than we are the other mortals who have perished before those days.

9. And two kings shall rise, one king of Rome, and one king of Ethiopia. And they shall gather to this place with their patriarchs, and with their armies and with all their people.

10. And they shall remain there a time of six months, reforming the faith.

11. And then shall there be a strife with word and tongue. [For each] shall say: "Our faith is better!"

12. And after that shall rise the patriarch of Alexandria and shall say before the whole assembly:

13. "Listen to me, ye people, which God hath called to a new birth and to the beginning of [another] creation, that he make you Christians by believing in his only begotten son.

14. "I have seen today in this night a sublime and holy vision. Yet I shall not tell this vision, for nobody will believe me.

15. "But send to Jerusalem and bring earth from Golgotha, and let us strew [it] in the church.

16. "And let us celebrate the mass, I on one side, and do thou celebrate the mass on the other side.

17. "And if a miracle from heaven come upon one of us, while all the people see it — in that faith let us all unite!"

18. And all the people shall say with one voice: "We agree, we agree!"

19. And they shall celebrate the mass and say Kyrie eleison. And the people shall say: "Happy he, who seeth the end of this thing."

20. And the Jews and the Muhammedans and the pagans shall speak thus: "We too shall become Christians, if we see today miracles from heaven." And they shall double and treble the Kyrie eleison.

21. And then shall come down the Holy Ghost in the likeness of a white dove. His face is like [that of] a man, and his neck is long, like [that of] an eagle.

22. And the feathers of his back are like jasper stone and a sardius. And his wings shine like a lightning (for three years) and like a rainbow.

23. And his feet are like unto burnished brass refined in a furnace, and his eyes are like the brilliant sun.

24. His body is [as] a plate, white as snow, and from his mouth cometh a fiery tongue with twelve rays. And upon his head is planted a sign of light.

25. And in the midst of this sign shall appear clear the likeness of a white lamb. And it hath seven horns and seven eyes.

26. And it shall speak plainly with the voice of men, saying: "I am Jesus of Bethlehem and Juda."

27. And having said this, he shall rest upon the host of the patriarch of Alexandria. And thereupon shall he ascend to heaven, whilst all the people see him, and his wings shade the earth.

28. And thereupon shall the king of Ethiopia shout with his army, for they have seen God with their eyes, and the whole world shall be of his faith.

29. But Rome shall weep and throw her books into the sea. And Rome and the Jews and the Muhammedans and the pagans shall be baptized all of them together in the name of the holy Triune.

30. And they shall proclaim by a herald saying: "In the former time have the apostles preached to us in the world. But today hath our Lord himself become an apostle to us, like as ye have seen him and heard his voice.

31. "Go, preach every one unto his people, Jews unto Jews, Muhammedans unto Muhammedans, pagans unto pagans; and him, who resists, shall the sword not spare."[1]

32. And woe to that day because of the multitude of the army of the king of Ethiopia, dark [men] and foot-soldiers and many [people]. And it will not come to them, each with one stone, to destroy it.[2]

33. And this is the sign of that king: he is bearded, and handsome and righteous, and he shall depose the king of Egypt and shall put another in his stead. And he shall turn aside the Gihon (= Nile),[3] in order to take tribute from Egypt.

34. And the king of Rome shall take possession of Jerusalem, and this is the sign of that handsome and tall king: the sign of the cross on his breast.

35. And they shall go to their country, and then the demons shall be bound for a period of forty years.

36. And there shall be rest and joy and peace in the whole world, and welfare shall be so great that rain shall fall without a cloud seven days.

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[1] The translation is not certain. **ᛏᎣᎰᎰ** means "not to care," or perhaps "have no regard for." But the original meaning is "to neglect," then we might add an **ᎄ** "not."

[2] This is a literal translation of the Ethiopic text, which is undoubtedly corrupt.

[3] As a matter of fact, the Abyssinians would be able to take away a great part of the water of the Nile by damming up the Abbáy (Blue Nile) and turning it into the Hauwâsh (cf. the explorations of Mr. Hugues le Roux in his book *Ménélik et Nous*, Paris, 1902).

NOTES ON THE CODE OF ḤAMMURABI.

By Rev. C. H. W. Johns,
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The code of Ḥammurabi which has just been published by
Professor V. Scheil, and on which Dr. Pinches read a short paper
before the Society of Biblical Archæology on November 12 last,
is sure to attract much attention before long.   It is obvious to
suppose that it will receive continual illustration from the already
well known legal documents contemporary with it, published by
Meissner in his *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht* (*M.
A. P.*); by Dr. Pinches in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian
Tablets, etc., in the British Museum* (*C. T.*), in Parts II, IV,
VI, VIII; by Strassmaier in his *Die altbabylonischen Verträge
aus Warka* (*B*), and by Professor Scheil in *Une Saison des
Fouilles à Sippar* (*S*).   On the other hand, there are many
points in them which the code will clear up considerably.

The code is quoted by the sections as numbered in Scheil's
edition.   Dr. H. Winckler, in the last number of *Der Alte Orient*,
gives a translation under the title of "Die Gesetze Hammurabis.
Das älteste Gesetzbuch der Welt."   He adds a brief introduction
and a few explanatory notes.   He also adopts Scheil's section
numberings, which are quoted in these notes.   It is assumed
here that the reader will have at hand both Delitzsch's *Hand-
wörterbuch* and Muss-Arnolt's excellent *Concise Dictionary*, so
that it is not needful to pad out the notes with extracts from the
lexicons.

Thus the sort of land called KI-GAL, so often occurring
in the legal documents, of which no one seems to have pointed
out the true meaning, is shown by § 44 of the code to be merely
"unreclaimed" land, or land out of cultivation.   A cultivator who
took such land generally undertook to bring it into cultivation
and meantime had it rent free for a time, usually two years.   It
was neither bad land, nor high land, nor anything but ordinary
land, only not in cultivation for the time being.   The present
writer had obtained this meaning from a large number of examples

in the above publications, too long to quote here, but the code replaces this long inductive process by direct witness. It is not yet clear how the signs KI-GÀL or KI-DAN were read in Semitic Babylonian, perhaps kigallu.

The obscure epithet of a house, KISLAḤ, is shown by § 113 to be read maškânu. This was already known to be one of the readings of KISLAḤ, but apparently no one had preferred it to the many others known. The reason probably was that maškânu, "a place," seemed too general a meaning to be any help. The code shows that it was a "granary," or "barn," a meaning which could not have been deduced from the simple mentions of its sale, or hire, which were all that legal documents could furnish. Evidently it is derived from šakânu, "to place," and means a place of safe deposit.

THE MUŠKÎNU, OR "POOR MAN."

This title, ideographically written amêlu MAŠ-EN-DÀ, is given by C. T., XII, p. 16, l. 42, d e f, as muškînu, with the pronunciation MA-AŠ-DA. The lines preceding give MAŠ-DÀ, with the pronunciation MA-AŠ-DA, also = muškînu. This is undoubtedly the original of מִסְכֵּן, and hence of Italian *meschino*, Portuguese *mesquinto*, French *mesquin*. It denotes the "pauper," cripple or unfortunate. It occurs continually in the code as a class name, distinguished alike from the amêlu, or freeman, and the ardu, or slave, and always occupies an intermediate place. Hence Scheil's guess "noble," *Mem.*, IV, p. 26, note 1, is peculiarly unfortunate. It is usually derived from kânu, "to humble oneself before god." But there is some doubt about this. The phrase muškinûtu illak occurs, *Catalogue*, pp. 15 sqq., meaning "he shall come to beggary." Hommel's suggestion to connect it with כֹּרֵן as = mušakinu is tempting, but has not much support, *B. D.*, I, 217.

But, at any rate, we may render "pauper," or commoner, as distinguished from the "aristocrat." He is the subject of special legislation. If he had stolen from a temple or palace he had to restore tenfold, as against the freeman's thirtyfold; § 8. As it seems to be contemplated that the freeman also might be too poor to pay his fine, we may regard this rather as a class distinction than a mere indication of poverty. He might hold slaves; §§ 15, 175, 176, 219.

He was subject to the Šisit nâgiri, or summons of the
nâgiru. As this is the technical phrase for the *corvée*, or for
compulsory military service, it is clear that the amêlu was
exempt; § 16. The slave seems also to have been so subject.
The muškinu was inclined to avoid this summons, and might
take refuge in a freeman's house. The penalty for harboring
him and not producing him on the summons of the nâgiru, who
was "over the levy," was death; § 16. The word nâgiru is
evidently connected with agâru, which is clearly the source of
αγγαρος, αγγαριον, the compulsory commandeer. If he divorced
a childless wife, who had no dowry, he paid her one-third of a
mina of silver, for her divorce, § 140, while a freeman paid a
full mina.

Special modifications of the law in his case are given in §§ 198,
201, 204, 211: assault and battery was compounded for by a fine,
while the same injuries done to an aristocrat were revenged under
the *lex talionis*. He paid a lower doctor's fee, § 216, but he
was fined less for causing the death of his child, § 222. The
status of the poor man is so marked that it will form an inter-
esting study in connection with "The Literature of the Poor"
in the Old Testament. Ḥammurabi himself boasts of having
constructed his laws so that none should oppress "the weak,
the widow, and the orphan."

THE VOTARY.

This name seems best to use at present until more exact
knowledge is to be had. The sign which denotes the office seems
to be a compound of ŠAL, the feminine determinative, and either
BAR, MAŠ, or ME. As is well known, the last three signs
are well distinguished in the early texts, but are not easy to dis-
tinguish in the cursive Babylonian of the First Dynasty.

Meissner, in his *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*
(*M. A. P.*), p. 111, was the first to call attention to the existence
of these ladies, whom he regarded as priestesses of Šamaš. He
read the signs either ŠAL or UD. But what he read as UD
was probably only a badly formed ŠAL followed by the vertical
of BAR, MAŠ, or ME. Arguing from the data available to
him, he was inclined to place the UD above the ŠAL as a
higher rank. In the cases known to him the sign was followed
by the name of Šamaš. He also pointed out that one of the

names of the goddess Bêlit matâti, in II R. 57, 11a, was
AN-UD-AN-UD, which could be rendered "the divine UD
of Šamaš." Further he pointed out that a princess might hold
the office, referring to *M. A. P.*, 22, 24, where Iltâni, the daughter
of the king Ammizaduga, is, according to his readings, an UD
of Šamaš.

Dr. Pinches in his copies of contracts published in *C. T.*,
II, IV, VI and VIII, gave forms of the sign which could be
taken either as ŠAL followed by BAR, MAŠ, ME, or even
a single vertical only. In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic
Society*, 1897, p. 595, he gave it as his opinion that the sign was
of doubtful derivation. "If, however, it be for ŠAL TIŠ it
will present a parallel to amêlu TIŠ, one of the groups for
kalû."

Father V. Scheil, in his edition of the Code Hammurabi, Vol.
IV of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* (*D. P.*), p. 56,
note 1, gives the sign as a ŠAL with its horizontal crossed by
one vertical, and says it is the sign for aššatu. To prove this
he quotes from a very archaic text at Constantinople, given in
his *Recueil de Signes*, p 42, No. 101. But there the sign, as he
gives it, is ŠAL-ME. But he does not prove that the sign
there means aššatu, "wife," for it might be "votary" or "mis-
tress" equally well.

The places in the code where it is used, col. ii, 36 ; xiv, 61 ;
xv, 20, 45, 61, 73, 93, of Scheil's edition of the *Mémoires*, give
clearly ŠAL with its horizontal crossed by one vertical. Doubt-
less the horizontal of ME or MAŠ was joined, by ligature, to
that of ŠAL. The horizontal for BAR should be lower. Hence
we are left with ŠAL-ME or ŠAL-MAŠ.

In § 110, it is followed by NIN-AN ; in §§ 178, 179, it is
preceded by NIN-AN. In § 127, NIN-AN occurs alone.
Now NIN-AN is given (Brûnnow's *Sign List*, No. 10997) as
= êntu, the feminine of ênu, "lord." Hence, as Scheil points
out, *D. P.*, p. 87, note 1, it is clear that our sign and NIN-AN
are used to denote the same class of persons. They bore the title
"lady" and could be indicated by that alone.

Further, in § 180, the sign precedes Ê-GE-A, which is given,
Brûnnow's *Sign List*, No. 6251, as = kallâtu, originally the
"bride-chamber," then the "bride," and later a "daughter-in-
law." Hence we may assume that kallâtu was either a synonym

or nearly so.   Scheil here renders it "recluse."   In § 110, the code speaks of a votary "who does not dwell in the Ê-GE-A," which Scheil there renders *le clottre*.   The law evidently contemplates the possibility of her dwelling there.   Hence these ladies had an official residence, called by the same name as the bride-chamber.   If votaries of Šamaš, they probably were "brides of Šamaš."

In § 181, we find the sign followed by NU-GIG, which is given in Brünnow's *Sign List*, No. 2017, as ḳadištu, or ištaritu.   The same section gives as an alternative NU-MAŠ. Now it is well known that NU is the sign of personality, and can be read amêlu, *M. A. P.*, p. 126, note 1, or even zikaru, Brünnow's *Sign List*, No. 1964.   Hence we have a variant to ŠAL-MAŠ, only apparently masculine instead of feminine. But this cannot be pressed, for we have several ladies called NU-MAŠ, Lamazi, *C. T.*, VIII, p. 50; Bu. 88-5-12, 33, l. 6; Lamazatim, *C. T.*, VIII, p. 2; Bu. 88-5-12, 10, l. 16; and a daughter of Idin-Sin, *C. T.*, IV, p. 48; Bu. 88-5-12, 713, l. 16.   Hence the signs NU-MAŠ, at least, include women.   Besides, § 181 uses feminine suffixes all through, which would hardly be done if a male was included.   There is no possibility of reading NU-ME here.

Lastly, in §§ 178, 179, 180, the code adds another title, ŠAL zi-ik-ru-um.   Scheil, p. 87, note 2, renders this *femelle du mâle*, and, in the text, more generally, *femme publique*.   But while zikru does mean "male," it is also an adjective meaning "named," "devoted."   We may compare the name for "the peasant," zikru ša Ninib, as being the guildsman of Ninib, the patron god of agriculture.

We may now note that among the values given for MAŠ are ellu, ênitu, ebbu, zakaru, and for ME, ellu, ramku, zikaru.   Hence clearly the above titles, êntu (for ênitu) and zikru, may well be readings of ŠAL-MAŠ; and, at least, zikru, of ŠAL-ME.   This renders it unlikely that zikru is different in meaning from the other titles.

We may now return to the title ḳadištu.   Undoubtedly this came to mean the same as the Hebrew, Kᵉdēša, but originally it only meant "consecrated."   It was the ḳadištu of Ištar who gained the unenviable notoriety for the class.   We are not sure that the ḳadištu, votary of Šamaš, had exactly the

same character. But we may note that synonyms of ḳuddušu are ellu, ebbu, banû, ḫalpû, kûṣ, and ramkû, which carry the ideas of "pure," "clear," "bright," "washed," etc. The purity is, of course, ceremonial, and closely to be connected with "consecration." It is evident that these are all ideas connected with the above ideographic signs. The other title, ištarîtu, of course, was specially appropriated to the votary of Ištar. It is scarcely likely that one could call a votary of Šamaš an ištarîtu.

There are several ladies mentioned in *C. T.* with the title ḳadištu. Thus Erišatum, *C. T.*, VI, p. 42; Bu. 91-5-9, 2470, l. 4. Compare the title arkû below.

The dominant meaning of BAR, MAŠ is "separation," "division," "marking off." Scheil, p. 87, would render NU-BAR as lâ petiti, literally "not opened," hence "a virgin," but there is no good ground for this.

There were other votaries besides those of Šamaš. Thus the code itself, proceeding as it did from a king who had made Babylon supreme, and there placed Marduk of Babylon above even Šamaš of Sippara, grants special privileges to the votaries of Marduk, in § 182. Votaries of Marduk appear in *C. T.*, VIII, p. 6; Bu. 88-5-12, 42, l. 3, Baṣatum; *C. T.*, VIII, p. 50; Bu. 88-5-12, 10, l. 16, Lamazatum, also a NU-MAŠ; Ḫušulum in *M. A. P.*, 94, l. 6.

On the whole, then, we may be content with the rendering "votary." The title "lady" was given her; she is associated with the ḳadištu, without being absolutely identified with her; she was resident usually in a convent, as one may say, but not always so. The titles borne all point to consecration and ceremonial separation.

The code throws considerable light on the status of these ladies. If they did not live in their convent, yet they might neither open a wine-shop, nor enter one, on pain of death, § 110. They are not directly forbidden to drink wine, but it is evident that they were required to be very strict in their behavior.

They might not be slandered, nor held up to scorn—the code coupling them, in this respect, with married women—on pain of being branded on the forehead, § 127. This penalty was actually inflicted (*C. T.*, VIII, p. 47; Bu. 91-5-9, 2190) on Amêl-Ninkuna for trying to upset a sale by his father, but in this case, it had

nothing to do with a votary. Hence they were protected from insult, and the profession carried no reproach with it. Note that a princess might join the sisterhood; see p. 99 above.

They might voluntarily join the sisterhood, and apparently, great as was the father's power in Babylonia, he could not stop a daughter from doing so. If he approved her wish, he might dower her as for a marriage, she becoming the bride of Šamaš (or Marduk). He might disapprove of her wish, and not give her a marriage portion, but she was not to be cut off from inheritance. The code steps in to regulate these contingencies. If a father did give an ĕntu, ŠAL-MAŠ, or ŠAL zikrum, a portion (the same words are used as for a bride's marriage portion) and wrote her a deed of gift, if he did not expressly insert the clause that she could leave it, or donate it, as she pleased, then after her father's death her brethren might take her field and garden (no house is named; she probably was expected to live in the convent) and compound for their resumption of the land, by assigning her, according to the value of her share of the whole paternal inheritance, a fixed allowance of corn, oil, and wine, and so "content her heart." Actual examples of such a resumption of the father's gift by a votary's brethren, with fixed allowance for life, may be seen in *C. T.*

This clause was only permissive. If the brethren did not do this, the votary could assign her field and garden to a farmer, and her farmer would keep her. She had the usufruct of her father's gift as long as she lived. But she could not alienate it, nor answer with it, *i. e.*, mortgage it for debt. "Her sonship is her brothers," *i. e.*, they are her rightful heirs. She could not have legitimate heirs, nor adopt a child to the exclusion of her brethren. § 178.

If the father gave her no portion at all, when he died, she was not excluded from inheritance, but took one son's share and enjoyed it as long as she lived; but at her death it all reverted to her brethren; § 180. In all the above cases it was her wish to become a votary.

But a father might actually vow or devote his daughter to be a ŠAL-MAŠ, ḳadištu, or a NU-MAŠ; then, even if he had not given her a portion, after he died, the brethren must allot her one-third of a son's share, which she was to enjoy as long as she lived, and which then reverted to her brethren. § 181.

A votary of Marduk of Babylon had special privileges. If vowed by her father himself, and not having received a portion from him, she was entitled at his death to receive one-third of a son's share, but she paid no tax, and her land did not revert to the brethren. She could leave it, after her, as she pleased. § 182.

It will be noted, in the above sections, that there is no mention of a votary having children. But whether she was chaste, or not, in her convent, she might have children, for we find the code stating that if a man wished to adopt the child of a votary, he could do so, and there was no legal representative to claim the child from him. In other words, the votary had no legal power over her child. § 187.

The same was true of the NER-SE-GA, or muzaz ĕkalli. Scheil considers that the *favori*, as he calls this class of person, also had no right to have children. The same signs are interpreted, II R. 39, 48 *gh*, as manzaz pâni, on the meaning of which see the lexicons under nazâzu. There is no hint in any of the numerous references made in historical texts to these personages that they were vicious in their habits, and it is only an unproved conclusion from the fact that they had no legal rights to children. All we know from the code is that they could not claim them from a father who would adopt them. We have only to imagine a bodyguard of soldiers living in barracks in the palace grounds and unmarried, or with no wives "on the establishment," to meet the case exactly.

Hence we may take it that a votary in her convent, or one of the bodyguard in his barracks, had no right to children. If they had children, they could not provide for them, and it was a work of charity to adopt such a child. If such a child, adopted and brought up in a good family, repudiated his parents (adoptive), it was a piece of gross ingratitude: and his tongue was to be cut out; § 192. So, if he finds out his real parentage, and hates his adoptive parents, and goes back to his natural parent, he is to have his eyes torn out; § 193. We are not so much called to note the disgrace of his birth, for illegitimate birth was not so shameful, but the base ingratitude of one, being legally an orphan, who was adopted into an honorable family, and then repudiated his adoptive parents.

But one point is clear: the votary had no right to children if she remained in her convent. Can we, then, suppose that she

was habitually unchaste?   A very large number of the votaries did not remain in their convent.   The code contemplates their marrying, and devotes §§ 144–7 to the cases that might spring out of this.   If a man married a votary, and she gave him a maid to bear him children, in her place, he was to be satisfied with that provision, and could not also take to himself a concubine; § 144.   If, however, the votary had not thus granted him children, he might bring a concubine into his house, but must not bring her into his wife's presence; § 145.   It is clear that it was expected that a votary, if married, would not bear children to her husband, herself.   Was a vow of perpetual virginity upon her still, or had her previous life rendered her barren?   If the last case, why did the man marry her, if he wished for children? It could hardly be for her property, which could not come to his children, in any case, as they would not be hers.

The votary having married, and given her husband a maid to bear him children, that maid might give herself airs and mock her childless mistress.   The maid could then be reduced to her old slave standing by her mistress, who might brand her (or fetter her?) and put her among the slave girls.   But if the maid had borne children to her master she could not be sold, § 146; on the other hand, if she had not borne children, she could be sold; § 147.   Of course, the case of Abraham's wife Sarah and her maid Hagar will at once be recalled.   Was Sarah a votary?

We find numerous references to these votaries in the contract tablets.   I have counted over 150 of them in *M. A. P.* and *C. T.* In *C. T.*, VIII, p. 37; Bu. 91–5–9, 2196, we find that Abi-maratum had a son, but there is some suspicion about her title. In *C. T.*, II, p. 37; Bu. 91–5–9, 360, we find that Amat-Šamaš adopted Ḥaliatum.   In *C. T.*, IV, p. 39; Bu. 88–5–12, 617, we find that Amat-Šamaš, a votary, gave her daughter Tazaḫ-ana-ališa in marriage to Nûr-ilišu.   In *M. A. P.*, 90, Bêlisunu, a votary, gave her daughter Baštum in marriage to Rimum.   In *M. A. P.*, 94, Ḥušutum, a votary of Marduk, and her husband Bunene-abi adopted as son Šamaš-abitu.   They already had children to whom Šamaš-abitu was to be elder brother.   These children were probably the children of a maid whom Ḥušutum had given to her husband.   In *C. T.*, VIII, p. 2; Bu. 88–5–12, 10, Lama-zatum, a votary of Marduk, received a trousseau from her father Sin-eribam on her entry into the temple of Anunitum, and this

her mother and brothers now gave her on her entry into the house of Ilušu-bânî her husband. They also returned to the husband two-thirds of a mina of silver which he had presented to them as a terḫatu, or dowry, with his wife.

The guild or sisterhood of votaries seems to have been a corporate body.

They had their scribe. In *C. T.*, II, p. 43; Bu. 91–5–9, 2175A, l. 38, Amêl-Adadi, as a witness, is given the title tupšar ŠAL-MAŠ Šamaš MEŠ. Note that he is not the scribe of one votary, nor of the particular document on which he is named, but "of the votaries of Šamaš." He occurs again in the same office, *C. T.*, VIII, p. 32; Bu. 91–5–9, 2503, l. 22.

They had an overseer called the amêlu PA of the votaries of Šamaš. It is usual to read PA as aklu and to give it the meaning "scribe." But, as Mr. Thureau-Dangin has pointed out, *Rev. Ass.*, III, p. 129, many places show that PA had the meaning of "superintendent," or "overseer," whether it be read aklu or not. At any rate, the officials bearing this title are not the same persons as appear as scribes. It seems not unlikely that, as DUP alone is written for DUP-SAR, so PA may be an abbreviation for PA-LU, usually read rê'û, "shepherd." But the question is complicated by the fact that so many signs are written defectively in the cursive Babylonian. There should be no difficulty whatever in distinguishing KU and LU.

In *C. T.*, VI, p. 26; Bu. 91–5–9, 407, l. 5, rev., Bûr-nunu, as witness, is styled PA-KU ŠAL-ME ša Šamaš, as also in *C. T.*, VIII, p. 46; Bu. 91–5–9, 2499, l. 25; but in *C. T.*, VIII, p. 39; Bu. 91–5–9, 766, l. 17, he is only PA ŠAL-TIŠ Šamaš. The signs PA-KU may be a defective writing for PA-LU, but on K. 1451, PA-KU is glossed as rê'u, akil ṭêmi (PA = aklu, KU = ṭêmu, as often), mušabû (KU = ašâbu). A "shepherd" of the votaries may really have had charge of their sheep, but also they themselves may have been the flock he had to tend. In *C. T.*, VI, p. 33; Bu. 91–5–9, 565, l. 29, Marduk-lama-zašu bears the title PA ŠAL-MEŠ Šamaš MEŠ; compare *C. T.*, VIII, p. 5; Bu. 88–5–12, 39, l. 28. In *C. T.*, VIII, p. 37; Bu. 91–5–9, 2196, l. 22, Sin-bânî is a PA ŠAL-MAŠ-MEŠ. In *C. T.*, VIII, p. 31; Bu. 91–5–9, 2183, Malkat-tallik is a PA ŠAL-ME Šamaš. In *C. T.*, VIII, p. 41; Bu. 91–5–9, 2492, Malkat-rîšat is a PA ŠAL Šamaš. In *C. T.*, II, p. 43; Bu.

91–5–9, 2175A, l. 36, and *C. T.*, VIII, p. 26 ; Bu. 91–5–9, 2444A,
l. 24, Rapaš-ṣilli-Ea ; *C. T.*, II, 43, l. 39, Lušalim-bêli ; *C. T.*, VIII,
p. 39 ; Bu. 91–5–9, 766, ll. 16–18, are three witnesses, Bûr-nunu,
Nannartum, and another ; *C. T.*, IV, p. 49 ; Bu. 88–5–12, 721,
l. 20 ; *C. T.*, VIII, p. 25 ; Bu. 91–5–9, 280, l. 40 ; *C. T.*, VIII ;
Bu. 91–5–9, 2492, l. 25, Ninsaḫ-iddina ; bear the same title.
In *C. T.*, VIII, p. 42 ; Bu. 91–5–9, 764, l. 16, Apil-Sin may be a
PA ŠAL-MAŠ, but the title is defaced ; so *C. T.*, VIII, p. 39 ;
Bu. 91–5–9, 605, l. 22, Sin-bâ-nî ; compare *C. T.*, VIII, p. 12 ;
Bu. 91–5–9, 2460, l. 23.

A lady seems sometimes to have borne the title of PA ; thus
C. T., IV, p. 8 ; Bu. 88–5–12, 61, l. 10, Iltâni, with the title PA,
follows "the priest of Marduk, Aḫani the priest, the lady priestess,
the wife of Aḫanî the priest." Of the names given above several
are certainly feminine ; so we may suppose that the college of
votaries had a lady superior.

The code contemplates that a father might of his own accord
dedicate his daughter as a votary. The tablet, Bu. 91–5–9, 2183 ;
C. T., VIII, p. 31, is very interesting in this connection. It
reads thus :

The tablet of Ištar-ummi and Aḫatâni, children (mârê) of Innaba-
tum. Innabatum the daughter of Bûr-Sin to Šamaš dedicated them
(ûlilšinati). As long as Innabatum lives, Ištar-ummi and Aḫatâni
shall support her, and after Innabatum their mother, among the sons
(of Innabatum) their brethren not one has any claim on them. They
swore by Šamaš, Malkat, Marduk, and Apil-Sin (the king).

Then follow the names of eighteen witnesses, nearly all of whom
are females, the first five probably being the brothers of the two
girls dedicated. As the other witnesses are said each to be the
daughter of a different man, it is likely that they are all votaries
of Šamaš. That the two, Ištar-ummi and Aḫatâni, were girls is
clear, not only from their names, but also from the feminine
suffix šina used of them. The verb here used for dedicating
ûlil is usual in these cases ; compare on same page (*C. T.*, VIII,
p. 31) the dedication of a son, Abum-bânî, by his mother,
Narubtum, on the same conditions that he shall support his
mother as long as she lives and after her death none of his
brothers shall have any claim upon him. Here also the first
seven witnesses are males, probably the brethren of the votary.
The oath was by Šamaš, Malkat, and Apil-Sin, the king, also by

Anunitum and the city of Sippara. The first lady witness, whose name is ruled off from the rest, is Malkat-latum, daughter of Sumu-la-ilu, doubtless the king of that name, and, as princess, the head of the college of votaries. The other witnesses, each daughter of a different man, were also votaries probably.

In one or two cases the title arkû occurs. As seen above it may be one of the synonyms for a votary. Thus in *C. T.*, II, p. 42; Bu. 91–5–9, 2174A, l. 2, Rîš-Šamaš, daughter of Sâla, is called an arkû of Šamaš. In the same text Aḫatâni, daughter of Marum, is called a ṣâb of Šamaš, unless this is a copyist's error for ŠAL-ME. In *C. T.*, VIII, p. 12; Bu. 88–5–12, 220, l. 5, Taribatum is called a ŠAL-TIŠ of Šamaš and apparently also arkû, though the sign is defaced. What exact shade of meaning we are to attach to the name is difficult to see, perhaps "novice." But the sign arkû may only be a defective writing of NU-GIG, *i. e.*, ḳadištu. In *C. T.*, VI, p. 22; Bu. 91–5–9, 364, l. 13, Iaḫilatum is called a NIN-AN of Šamaš

THEOCRITEAN PARALLELS TO THE SONG OF SONGS.

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Graetz in his commentary on the Song of Songs[1] advanced the theory that the poet of the Song of Songs was probably acquainted with the idyls of Theocritus and with Greek erotic poetry in general, and that he borrowed from them what suited his purpose. He thought that the author of the Song of Songs showed such an acquaintance with the elements of the Greek language and with Greek manners and views of life that he must also have been familiar with the erotic and idyllic literature of the Greeks. He mentioned the fact that Hugo Grotius, Genest, the younger Wessely, and Lessing had already indicated points of contact between the Song of Songs and Greek poetry in general or the idyls of Theocritus in particular, and he thought that, if we find in the Song of Songs parallels to the idyls of Theocritus, the Hebrew poet must have borrowed them from the Greek poet. He found the Song of Songs similar in form to the second idyl of Theocritus, entitled φαρμακεύτριαι, sorceresses, in which a maiden Simaëtha tells of her love for a handsome youth, who pretended to love her, but betrayed and deserted her. In this poem we have dialogues as in the Song of Songs. Simaëtha relates what the youth has told her and what others have said. Her monologue also is not a soliloquy without auditors, but a recital to persons who are present. Intercalated verses also appear:

φράζεό μευ τὸν ἔρωθ' ὅθεν ἵκετο, πότνα Σελάνα.

Bethink thee of my love, and whence it came, my Lady Moon.[2]

This is just like the repeated הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי אֶתְכֶם "I adjure you," Cant. 1:7; 3:5; 5:8; 8:4.

[1] H. Graetz, *Schir Ha-Schirim oder das Salomonische Hohelied, übersetzt und kritisch erläutert*, Wien 1871, S. 73.

[2] Throughout this paper, the English version of Andrew Lang is employed and the Greek text of Fritzsche is followed, with but a single exception, viz., XXVII, 49. See note on that passage.

Both in form and rhythm there is a similarity existing between the Song of Songs and the idyls of Theocritus. In the idyls certain verses are repeated at great intervals for emphasis. In the singing contest between Menalcas and Daphnis (*Idyl* VIII, 28, 29) we have:

χοἱ μὲν παῖδες ἄυσαν, ὁ δ᾽ αἰπόλος ἦνθ᾽ ὑπακούσας·
χοἱ μὲν παῖδες ἄειδον, ὁ δ᾽ αἰπόλος ἤθελε κρίνειν.

Then the boys called aloud, and the goatherd gave ear, and came, and the boys began to sing, and the goatherd was willing to be their umpire.

Then, after a long interval, we have in vs. 81:

ὣς οἱ παῖδες ἄειδον, ὁ δ᾽ αἰπόλος ὣδ᾽ ἀγόρευεν.

So sang the lads, and the goatherd thus bespoke them.

This same expressive repetition we find in Cant. 2:10:

ק֥וּמִי לָ֛ךְ רַעְיָתִ֥י יָפָתִ֖י וּלְכִי־לָֽךְ׃

Arise, my darling, O come, my fair one,

to which 2:13 corresponds exactly.

In 3:1 we read:

בִּקַּ֕שְׁתִּי אֵ֛ת שֶׁאָהֲבָ֥ה נַפְשִׁ֖י
בִּקַּשְׁתִּ֖יו וְלֹ֥א מְצָאתִֽיו׃

I sought him whom my soul loveth:
I sought him, but I found him not,

which is repeated in 3:2:

אֲבַקְשָׁ֕ה אֵ֛ת שֶׁאָהֲבָ֥ה נַפְשִׁ֖י
בִּקַּשְׁתִּ֖יו וְלֹ֥א מְצָאתִֽיו׃

I will seek him whom my soul loveth:
I sought him, but I found him not,

although perhaps this repetition is due to scribal expansion.
In 1:13, 14 we find:

צְר֨וֹר הַמֹּ֤ר דּוֹדִ֣י לִ֔י

My beloved is unto me as a bundle of myrrh.

אֶשְׁכֹּ֨ל הַכֹּ֤פֶר דּוֹדִ֣י לִ֔י

My beloved is unto me as a cluster of henna-flowers.

In III, 34–36, a goatherd chides his coquettish sweetheart:

ἦ μάν τοι λευκὰν διδυματόκον αἶγα φυλάσσω,
τάν με καὶ ἁ Μέρμνωνος Ἐριθακὶς ἁ μελανόχρως
αἰτεῖ· καὶ δωσῶ οἱ, ἐπεὶ τύ μοι ἐνδιαθρύπτῃ.

　　Truly, I keep for thee the white goat with the twin kids
that Mermnon's daughter too, the *brown-skinned Erithacis*,
prays me to give her; and give her them I will, since thou
dost flout me.

In X, 26, 27, Battus says of his love Bombyca:

Βομβύκα χαρίεσσα, Σύραν καλέοντί τυ πάντες,
ἰσχνάν, ἁλιόκαυστον, ἐγὼ δὲ μόνος μελίχλωρον.

　　They all call thee a gypsy, gracious Bombyca, and lean,
and sun-burnt, 'tis only I that call thee honey-pale.

In Cant. 1:5, 6 the maiden says:

　　I am black but comely,
　　O ye daughters of Jerusalem,
　　As the tents of Kedar,
　　As the curtains of Solomon.
　　Look not upon me, because I am swarthy,
　　Because the sun hath scorched me.

　　In one of the passages already cited, viz., III, 34–36, where the
goatherd threatens to give the white goat with the twin kids to
another maiden, there is evidently a reference to the lover's
custom of giving a kid or a goat to his sweetheart.　There seems
to be a veiled allusion to this in Cant. 1:8:

　　Feed thy kids beside the shepherds' tents.

In XVIII, 30, 31 a woman is likened to a horse:

ἢ κάπῳ κυπάρισσος ἢ ἅρματι Θεσσαλὸς ἵππος,
ὧδε καὶ ἁ ῥοδόχρως Ἑλένα Λακεδαίμονι κόσμος.

　　Or, as is the cypress in the garden; or, in a chariot, a
horse of Thessalian breed, even so is rose-red Helen the
glory of Lacedaemon.

In Cant. 1:9 we read:

　　To the splendid mare in the gorgeous chariot of Pharaoh
do I liken thee, my darling.

In XVII, 36, 37 we find:

τᾷ μὲν Κύπρον ἔχοισα Διώνας πότνια κούρα
κόλπον ἐς εὐώδη ῥαδινὰς ἐσεμάξατο χεῖρας.

Yea, in her *fragrant breast* did the Lady of Cyprus,
the queenly daughter of Dione, lay her slender hands.

In Cant. 1:13:

My beloved is unto me as a bundle of myrrh,
That lieth betwixt my breasts.

The grape-stealing propensity of foxes is referred to in I,
48, 49:

. . . . . ἀμφὶ δέ νιν δύ' ἀλώπεκες ἁ μὲν ἀν' ὄρχως
φοιτῇ σινομένα τὰν τρώξιμον. . . . .

Round him two she-foxes are skulking, and one goes
along the vine-rows to devour the grapes,

and in V, 112, 113:

μισέω τὰς δασυκέρκος ἀλώπεκας, αἳ τὰ Μίκωνος
αἰεὶ φοιτῶσαι τὰ ποθέσπερα ῥαγίζοντι.

I hate the foxes with their bushy brushes, that ever come
at evening, and eat the grapes of Micon.

In Cant. 2:15 we read:

Catch us the foxes, the little foxes, the destroyers of the
vineyards.

In I, 25 the twin-bearing goats are mentioned:

αἶγα δέ τοι δωσῶ διδυματόκον ἐς τρὶς ἀμέλξαι.

I will let thee milk, aye, three times, a goat that is the
mother of twins.

In Cant. 4:2 and 6:6, the bridegroom in his description of
the physical charms of the bride says:

Thy teeth are like a flock of ewes that are newly shorn,
Which are come up from the washing;
Whereof every one hath twins
And none is bereaved among them.

In the following passages the voice and mouth are compared
to honey in sweetness:

I, 146   Πλῆρές τοι μέλιτος τὸ καλὸν στόμα, Θύρσι, γένοιτο,
πλῆρές τοι σχαδόνων. . . . .

Filled may thy fair mouth be with honey, Thyrsis, and filled with the honey-comb.

III, 54   ὡς μέλι τοι γλυκὺ τοῦτο κατὰ βρόχθοιο γένοιτο.

Sweet as honey in the mouth may my death be to thee.

VIII, 83   κρέσσον μελπομένω τευ ἀκουέμεν ἢ μέλι λείχειν.

Better is it to listen to thy singing, than to taste the honey-comb.

XX, 26, 27   . . . . ἐκ στομάτων δέ

ἔρρεέ μοι φωνὰ γλυκερωτέρα ἢ μέλι κηρῶ.

And from my lips my voice flowed sweeter than honey from the honey-comb.

This idyl, however, is considered by some not to be genuine.[3] We have a similar expression in Cant. 4:11:

Thy lips drop as the honey-comb.

In II, 59, 60, Simaetha seeks, by means of a magical decoction of herbs, to bring back her recreant lover Delphis, and to this end gives orders to her maid Thestylis to smear the juice of these herbs on the jambs of her lover's gate:

Θεστυλί, νῦν δὲ λαβοῦσα τὺ τὰ θρόνα ταῦθ᾽ ὑπόμαξον

τᾶς τήνω φλιᾶς καθ᾽ ὑπέρτερον. . . . . . .

But now, Thestylis, take these magic herbs and secretly smear the juice on the jambs of his gate.

There is an allusion to a similar custom in Cant. 5:5:

I rose up to open to my beloved;
And my hands dropped with myrrh,
And my fingers with stacte (στακτή),
Upon the handles of the bolt.

Love is compared to *fire* in II, 133, 134:

. . . . . . Ἔρως δ᾽ ἄρα καὶ Λιπαραίω

πολλάκις Ἀφαίστοιο σέλας φλογερώτερον αἴθει.

Yea, Love, 'tis plain, lights oft a fiercer blaze than Hephaestus, the god of Lipara,

and in VII, 55, 56:

αἴ κεν τὸν Λυκίδαν ὀπτεύμενον ἐξ Ἀφροδίτας

ῥύηται· θερμὸς γὰρ ἔρως αὐτῶ με καταίθει.

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[3] See A. T. H. Fritzsche, *Theokrits Idyllen*, 2te Aufl., p. 194, footnote. Snow omits this idyl entirely from his edition.

Fair voyaging betide him, if he saves Lycidas from the
fire of Aphrodite, for hot is the love that consumes me.

In Cant. 8:6 we read :

> Ardent love is hard as Sheol;
> Its flames are flames of fire,
> Its flashes are flashes of lightning.

Apples, quinces, and similar fruits, which the Greeks called
μῆλα, were regarded as symbols of love.   We often find the
expression "to pelt with apples," μηλοβολεῖν.   It was considered
equivalent to a declaration of love to pelt some one with apples,
to give apples, or to eat apples with another.   To dream of apples
denoted good fortune in love.   Aphrodite was represented with
an apple in her hand.   In the contest between Hera, Athene, and
Aphrodite, Paris awarded the prize of beauty, a golden apple, to
Aphrodite.   Frequent allusion is made to the apple as a love-
token.

In II, 118–120 Delphis says to his love Simaetha :

> . . . . . . καὶ τὸν γλυκὺν ἦνθον Ἔρωτα,
> ἢ τρίτος ἠὲ τέταρτος ἐὼν φίλος αὐτίκα νυκτός,
> μᾶλα μὲν ἐν κόλποισι Διωνύσοιο φυλάσσων.

Yea, by sweet Love, I should have come, with friends of
mine, two or three, as soon as night drew on, bearing in my
breast the apples of Dionysus.

In III, 10, 11 a goatherd says to his love Amaryllis :

> ἠνίδε τοι δέκα μᾶλα φέρω· τηνῶ δὲ καθεῖλον,
> ὥ μ' ἐκέλευ καθελεῖν τύ· καὶ αὔριον ἄλλα τοι οἰσῶ.

Lo, ten apples I bring thee, plucked from that very
place where thou didst bid me pluck them, and others
tomorrow I will bring thee.

III, 40–42   Ἱππομένης ὅκα δὴ τὰν παρθένον ἤθελε γᾶμαι,
    μᾶλ' ἐν χερσὶν ἑλὼν δρόμον ἄνυεν· ἁ δ' Ἀταλάντα
    ὡς ἴδεν ὡς ἐμάνη ὡς εἰς βαθὺν ἅλατ' ἔρωτα.

Lo, Hippomenes, when he was eager to marry the famous
maiden, took apples in his hand, and so accomplished his
course; and Atalanta saw, and madly longed, and leaped
into the deep waters of desire.

V, 88, 89   βάλλει καὶ μάλοισι τὸν αἰπόλον ἁ Κλεαρίστα
    τὰς αἶγας παρελᾶντα καὶ ἁδύ τι ποππυλιάσδει.

Clearista, too, pelts the goatherd with apples as he drives past his she-goats, and a sweet word she murmurs.

VI, 6, 7   βάλλει τοι, Πολύφαμε, τὸ ποίμνιον ἀ Γαλάτεια
μάλοισιν, δυσέρωτα καὶ αἰπόλον ἄνδρα καλεῦσα.

Galatea is pelting thy flock with apples, Polyphemus; she says the goatherd is a laggard lover.

VII, 117   ὦ μάλοισιν Ἔρωτες ἐρευθομένοισιν ὁμοῖοι.

Ye Loves as rosy as red apples.

In X, 33, 34 Battus says of his love Bombyca:

χρύσεοι ἀμφότεροί κ' ἀνεκείμεθα τᾷ ᾿Αφροδίτᾳ
τὼς αὐλὼς μὲν ἔχοισα καὶ ἢ ῥόδον ἢ τύγε μᾶλον.

Then images of us twain, all in gold, should be dedicated to Aphrodite, thou with thy flute, and a rose, yea, or an apple.

In XI, 39 the Cyclops Polyphemus says to his love, the sea-nymph Galatea:

τίν, τὸ φίλον γλυκύμαλον, ἁμᾷ κἤμαυτὸν ἀείδων.

Of thee, my love, my sweet-apple, and of myself too I sing.

In XXVII, 49 the satyr Daphnis likens the maiden's breasts to apples:

μᾶλα τεὰ πράτιστα τάδε χνοάοντα διδάξω.[4]

I will show thee that these earliest apples are ripe.[5]

This idyl, however, is not considered genuine.[6]

In Cant. 2:3 the lover is likened to an apple-tree:

As the apple-tree among the trees of the wood,
So is my beloved among the youth.
I long to sit under his shadow
And its fruit was sweet to my taste,

and in the following verse, 2:5, the maiden says:

Comfort me with apples.

[4] Fritzsche reads μαλάξω on a conjecture. I have followed the reading of Ahrens.

[5] See the description of the enchantress Alcina in the fourteenth strophe of the seventh canto of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso:

Due pome acerbe, e pur d'avorio fatte,
Vengono e van come onda al primo margo
Quando piacevole aura il mar combatte.

[6] Fritzsche (p. 242, footnote) does not consider this idyl genuine. Ahrens regards it as uncertain. Snow omits it entirely from his edition.

In 7:8 we read:

> And the smell of thy breath like apples,

and in 8:5:

> Under the apple-tree I will awaken thee,

i. e., will break in on thee in the bridal chamber, under the caresses of the bridegroom.

It is undoubtedly true that there are certain points of contact between the idyls of Theocritus and the Song of Songs, nevertheless it would be hazardous to form the conclusion that the Hebrew poet borrowed from the Greek poet or Greek poetry in general.   In the nature of the case, the themes of the Song of Songs and the idyls of Theocritus are somewhat similar, and it is only natural that a similarity of theme should occasion a choice of similar language.   And after all, the language of love is the language of the heart the world over.   In this way many of these parallel passages may be explained, as the parallels quoted are not sufficiently numerous or striking to warrant the assertion of the dependence of the Hebrew writer upon Greek literary models, although it is not impossible that the compilation of the Song of Songs is later than the idyls of Theocritus.   The Song of Songs is not the work of one poet, but a collection of popular love-ditties.

Critical Notes.

CRITICAL NOTES ON AMOS 2:7 AND 8:4.

2:7.—That Wellhausen's solution of the difficulty in the clause הַשֹּׁאֲפִים עַל־עֲפַר־אֶרֶץ בְּרֹאשׁ דַּלִּים, though accepted by Nowack, is not correct, has long been evident to me. In spite of Professor Torrey's ingenious *explanation* of Wellhausen's emendation (in *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, Vol. XV, pp. 151 *sq.*) the riddle remains. I venture to offer another solution.

The LXX has not understood the clause, for it refers הַשֹּׁאֲפִים to נֲעָלִים in the previous verse, but it may yet have preserved the underlying original Hebrew text well. Wellhausen is evidently right when he takes הַשֹּׁאֲפִים, following LXX and Targum, as coming from שׁוּף (שָׁאַף secondary form), but he is wrong when he says that LXX does not seem to have read עַל עֲפַר אֶרֶץ; as reason he gives "denn τὰ πατοῦντα ἐπὶ τὸν χοῦν τῆς γῆς ist ein völlig unkonstruirbarer Nachtrag und kann sich neben καὶ ἐκονδύλιζον εἰς κεφαλὰς πτωχῶν nicht halten" (*Skizzen*, V, p. 72). This is not convincing.

The LXX text, τὰ πατοῦντα ἐπὶ τὸν χοῦν τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκονδύλιζον εἰς κεφαλὰς πτωχῶν, presupposes as the underlying Hebrew text:

השאפים על־עפר־ארץ
וְרַצּוּ ראש דלים

The only difference from the Massoretic text is the καὶ ἐκονδύλιζον, which presupposes וְרַצּוּ √ רצץ; in other words, the רץ of אֶרֶץ stood twice in the text וְרִצֵּ (compare Amos 4:1, הָרֹצְצִים אֶבְיוֹנִים). Since there is no other case where רצץ is construed with בְּ, it is perhaps best to omit the בְּ of בְּרֹאשׁ. The meaning of this Hebrew text, which LXX evidently misunderstood, is:

*Who trample (crush) to the dust of the earth
and oppress the poorest of all.*

ראש דלים is not the head of the poor, but the very poorest. אֶל = עַל. But not only the LXX, but also the Peshitto, presupposes this Hebrew text, for it reads: ܘܲܡܕܲܝ̈ܫܝܼܢ ܥܲܠ ܥܲܦܪܵܐ ܕܐܲܪܥܵܐ ܘܡܲܩܦܚܝܼܢ ܠܟܹ̈ܐܒܹܐ. This text is supported also by metrical considerations, for it alleviates the difficulty occasioned by the long clause in the Massoretic text. Besides, it was very easy for a copyist to omit the רץ after he had written already אֶרֶץ. Thus on every hand this text commends itself as the original Hebrew text of Amos 2:7. It may be that אֶרֶץ may be omitted as having come

into LXX and Peshitto text by dittography. But, on the whole, this supposition seems to be unnecessary.

8:4.—הַשֹּׁאֲפִים אֶבְיוֹן וְלַשְׁבִּית עֲנִיֵּי־אָרֶץ.—This verse is intimately related to 2:7 and it appears quite natural to expect some help from the just restored text of that verse for this one here. הַשֹּׁאֲפִים has, of course, the same meaning here as in 2:7. The Peshitto is of no value here, for it evades the difficulty by translating: ܘܕܠܐ ܚܫܚܝܢ ܡܬܝܒܠܝܢ. The LXX translates: οἱ ἐκτρίβοντες εἰς τὸ πρωὶ πένητα καὶ καταδυναστεύοντες πτωχοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. Nowack thinks that καταδυναστεύοντες presupposes הָעֹשְׁקוֹת and compares 4:1. But in 1 Sam. 12:4 the LXX translates רָצַץ by καταδυναστεύειν, and it is in the highest degree probable that LXX presupposes here in Amos 8:4 a form of רָצַץ, which is used in Amos 4:1 as a parallel synonym of עָשַׁק.

The same mistake as in 2:7 seems then to have been made also in 8:4, for we should read the Hebrew text of the LXX in the second half of the verse: וַעֲנִיֵּי־אָרֶץ יְרֹצֵצוּ. As to the underlying text of the first half, so much is clear that הַשֹּׁאֲפִים אֶבְיוֹן is presupposed by οἱ ἐκτρίβοντες πένητα. But what did LXX translate by εἰς τὸ πρωὶ? Evidently a word which is represented in the Massoretic text by לַשְׁבִּית. Very likely they read לַשַּׁחֲרוֹת; ב and ר could easily be interchanged in the old script, so that only the ה had crept in. At any rate, whatever εἰς τὸ πρωὶ presupposed, the Massoretic לַשְׁבִּית is in all probability correct and original. It is an adverbial expression and should be translated "completely, altogether," and should, as the LXX shows, be taken together with the first half of the verse.

The original Hebrew text of Amos 8:4 is then:

הַשֹּׁאֲפִים אֶבְיוֹן לַשְׁבִּית
וַעֲנִיֵּי־אָרֶץ יְרֹצֵצוּ

Ye who crush altogether the needy,
and oppress the poor of the land.

The same reasons which were advanced for 2:7 hold good here also, except the evidence of the Peshitto.

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Book Notices.

JOHNS' ASSYRIAN DEEDS AND DOCUMENTS.[1]

The first volume aimed at giving the text of all the Assyrian contracts, and did so, as far as the Catalogue pointed them out. The index volume to the Catalogue was not then published. Mr. Johns gave also the texts of all tablets which the Catalogue suggested might be contracts. He has arranged these according to subjects, though, of course, the classes are not specifically distinct; and a loan of money, upon security of an estate, has many features and more phrases in common with a lease of an estate. It is especially difficult to settle the true location of small fragments of which the few phrases preserved might suggest more than one class. These fragments are generally grouped together at the end of the class to which they belong. This method of grouping allows the formula of a deed to be made out with greater ease by comparison of the variants in a large number of examples.

The appearance of several reviews of Vol. I made it evident that the Catalogue had put many documents of a similar class to the contracts under a variety of other headings. Hence Mr. Johns was obliged to examine the large classes of documents known as memoranda, reports, lists of persons and of objects. Though only a few of these turned out to belong to contracts, they were often concerned with the transfer of property and came under the head of the sub-title of the work. They therefore formed an appropriate addition to the contents of the first volume. There are presented in these two volumes the text of 1223 tablets, or fragments. One cause of great changes in certain of the texts, reproduced afresh in the second volume, has been the discovery of joins. This is no mere happy chance, but the result of careful thought and painstaking search through the fragments to find a missing piece. Small as these tablets mostly are, some now consist of a dozen pieces reunited after centuries of separation. There are some 120 joins already announced, and many more will follow in future volumes, as we judge from the preface of Vol. III.

These texts range over the whole seventh century B. C., though they are chiefly from the time of Sennacherib and his successors. They include documents as late as the time of Ašur-etil-ilâni, to whom belong

[1] ASSYRIAN DEEDS AND DOCUMENTS RECORDING THE TRANSFER OF PROPERTY. Including the so-called private contracts, legal decisions, and proclamations preserved in the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum. Chiefly of the seventh century B. C. Copied, collated, arranged, abstracted, annotated, and indexed by the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A. Vol. I (1898, 573 pp.): Cuneiform Texts; Vol. II (1901, 306+383 pp.): Additional Cuneiform Texts, Introduction, Officials, Metrology; Vol. III (1901, 599 pp.): Money Loans, Legal Decisions, Deeds of Sale, Slave Sales. Cambridge: *Deighton Bell & Co.*

the charters Nos. 650 and 808. A very large number of them are dated, and among the Eponyms named a great many evidently belong to the period after B. C. 668 when the copies of the Eponym Canon break off. With the indications furnished by these documents, Mr. Johns believes he can account for nearly every year down to the fall of Nineveh. The order in which they are to be placed is, however, not definitely fixed at present. Such notes of time as that the Eponymy of Nabû-šar-aḥêsu follows that of Sagabbu, at an interval of six years, or that a group of Eponyms must be closely allied because of the business of one official being confined to their years, will go far to fix the order of what Mr. Johns calls post-canon Eponyms. As long, however, as we have no means of fixing the events of a year to one Eponymy there will be little value in knowing the mere succession of the Eponyms.

In another way the contracts may prove of value. Scattered and obscure as the hints are, they are often suggestive. The presence of Egyptian names among the slaves, references to the Gimirrai, to a great drought, or a great downpour, when there was heavy rain for two days and nights, help to fill in the picture sketched in outline by the historical inscriptions. The great wealth of personal names, not only Assyrian and Babylonian, but Aramaic, Egyptian, Elamite, Jewish, Arabic, as well as possibly Persian on the one side, and Cilician on the other, is a mine of treasures for students of the early fortunes of those peoples. These have been freely used in KAT [III].

But it is not so much with these side issues that Mr. Johns concerns himself. He promises to register for us all the proper names; and notes the bearing of many casual notices upon history; but his object is to systematize the legal formulæ and the purpose of the documents themselves. He tries to set out what they meant to the men who wrote them. The absorbing interest of the writer was the business in hand, the transfer of some property and the rendering of that transfer a binding deed. This is rather dry reading to the man on the lookout for discoveries, but it is painful, plodding work that has to be done. When it is finished, there will be no difficulty in placing at once any new legal documents that turn up. The want of material, as much as the want of method, prevented previous writers on contracts from solving many problems. They may have had rare insight. Oppert and Peiser certainly had, but the finest insight cannot dispense with knowledge. Mr. Johns disposes with many guesses, which were undoubtedly shrewd, but inconsistent with the facts now made known. He himself shows little insight into many "dark sayings;" but seems to prefer to arrange the facts, so that they may be got at easily by others. Perhaps he shows too great readiness to accept every suggestion made to him by Professor Jensen, who has seen the proof sheets.

The second volume also contains some rather long introductions on the general features of the tablets, on the many officials who figure in them, and on the system of weights and measures, including money. A great deal of this is not new, but had been scattered by many con-

tributors, through many periodical publications, and it may be useful
to have the mass collected together in one book. The collection of the
scattered hints concerning many of the well-known officials, such as the
mysterious rab BI LUL, may help someone to find a clew to their real
duties and standings. Sometimes Mr. Johns points out interesting con-
clusions, as when he shows that while there was no marked abstention
from business on the 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th days of the month, as one
would expect if a Sabbath were kept, there was almost total abstinence
from business on the 19th day. So, too, the occurrences of Ve-Adar are
noted and prove to be quite out of keeping with Mahler's Chronological
Tables. As a rule, however, Mr. Johns gets his facts together and leaves
them to lead to any conclusion or none as the reader will. He can
speculate also, e. g., witness his inquiry into the question whether the
Assyrians coined money or not.

In the third volume the examination of the documents one by one
with a transliteration and translation of critical passages begins. The
members of any one class are so much like one another that the full
translation is needed only for the first example of the class. This is
chosen so as to exhibit the best specimen of the class characteristics.
In some cases it is followed by others nearly as good, in some cases it
is quite alone. But when the reader has had the best specimen of the
sort put before him, it is easy to point out the interesting variants, and
varied side issues which other members of the class may show. Indeed,
a full transliteration and translation for each one of the documents
would swell the book to nine or ten volumes. This volume deals with
loans of money, advances of goods or money, with or without interest,
legal decisions, deeds of sale, as far as the general formula of a deed can
be separated from the individual details of the case; followed by the
deeds of sale which concern slaves, male and female, or in families.
Some very interesting questions arise out of these documents. Mr.
Johns concludes that the advance of money or goods was not a loan for
the sake of interest to the lender, but an accommodation customarily con-
ceded by the landlord to a tenant and by him expected when temporarily
unable to carry on his farming, without assistance. Hence these loans
are without interest until harvest. The rent doubtless was paid in kind
and was either a fixed share, one-third, perhaps, of the harvest, or an
estimated average yield, GIŠ BAR. When there was no such bond of
common interest between landlord and tenant, the borrower had to
deposit a security. This was often of a nature to be profitable to the
holder, and then the profit was a set-off against the interest. Consign-
ments of property in lieu of interest, when this was already due; and a
variety of fragments, some of which are doubtfully assigned to this
class, close a group whose unity is more or less authenticated by the
fact that the shape chosen by the Assyrian scribe for these tablets is
nearly always the same.

Mr. Johns has taken quite a new view of the legal decisions. He
rejects the view of Oppert that the aba was a judicial official; and of

Dr. Bezold that any contract-shaped tablet containing the word dênu
may be a legal decision. He confines the term to documents setting
forth such a decision as was given by a judge, and embodied in a formula
which is perfectly distinct and available for classification. The general
formula of a deed of sale is a long one, full of phrases and terms calcu-
lated to exclude every plea for a revision of the contract. Much of it is
taken up with clauses attaching exorbitant penalties to various breaches
of contract. The terms in which these are expressed doubtless go back
to a high antiquity and do not seem to have been composed for the occa-
sion. They suggest that the scribes kept deeds of sale ready drafted
and merely filled in names and descriptions of the property to suit the
special case. It seems doubtful whether these penalties were ever really
exacted, and in practice a compromise was probably effected; the
wronged party taking whatever compensation he was able to extract and
abstaining from exacting the uttermost. Thus, for example, when a
defaulter was bound to devote his eldest son or daughter by fire to some
god, it is likely that life-long service was accepted instead. Whether
such a penalty implies the existence of human sacrifices at one time in
Assyria is a difficult question which would take too long to discuss here.

After a long chapter on the clauses which go to form the usual text
of a deed of sale, Mr. Johns gives a table of notation, which enables him
to label his deeds of sale, according to the presence or absence of par-
ticular clauses. This table conveys, in a line, a summary of a page of
comment.

Then follows a chapter on the slave sales. A short but fairly
exhaustive summary of what these documents contribute to our knowl-
edge of the condition of slaves in Assyria opens the discussion. Many
of the issues raised by the more miscellaneous collections published by
Strassmaier and Peiser are left untouched, as they are not raised by
these documents. It is maintained that the sales were made by private
persons or merchants of the royal officials to replenish the royal house-
holds, or palaces, chiefly, if not entirely, at Nineveh. Mr. Johns devotes
a great deal of space to collecting together all the occurrences of a par-
ticular name on first meeting with it. Hence a reference by means of
the index can be made to some one page on which will be found all or
nearly all the occurrences of the name. No effort seems to be made,
however, to discriminate between the several persons who may have
borne the same name. It is obvious that the same person cannot always
be intended.

Very full indexes of proper names, personal and local, of words com-
mented upon and of subjects incidentally referred to, complete the
volume. Here will be found many hints of service to biblical students,
to those interested in the origin of institutions and to those who are
anxious to increase the Semitic vocabularies.

It seems a pity that Mr. Johns did not publish the Aramaic legends,
or dockets which occur on many of these tablets. He seems to have
abstained from doing so, from a desire not to prejudice the monograph

on the subject which Dr. J. H. Stevenson had in preparation. But in the discussions on the dockets which are actually found on tablets with which he has to deal, Mr. Johns gives his own readings of these important contributions to the subject. This he was, of course, bound to do. Whether what he has said will stand the test of expert examination, remains to be seen. At any rate, he admits that more careful attention to the Aramaic would have saved him from some misreadings of the cuneiform. He does not figure the seals either. This would probably require photography, and any discussion of them would be premature without special study. He seems to hold out some hope of a selection of figures for the somewhat vague appendix which he continually promises, but which seems as far off as ever.

Students of comparative law and of early institutions will find much to interest them and to carry back the origin of many things to an eastern source and an early date.

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SOCIN ON ARABIC POETRY.[1]

It is hard to find a side on which to approach, to describe, to estimate, such a work as this without leaving other sides untouched or unemphasized which are at least as worthy of primary treatment. How could a reviewer of the time have dealt adequately with Sir William Jones's version of the *Mu'allaqāt*, how with the first version of the *Arabian Nights*, how even with Terrick Hamilton's *Antar?* There were beginnings in these, there were aspects, literary, sociological, linguistic, which then could have been only dimly apprehended, and the fulness of whose sweep and width, backward and forward, as history and as influence, none then could have gauged.

So it is with the present book. In spite of the drily scientific attitude and tone which are painfully maintained in it, there can be no mistaking the fact that here there is a new thing—a thing, at least, for the first time known in any of its fulness—with which the history of the race and the history of literature must now deal. Further, this thing is not of the dead past as were the *Mu'allaqāt*, nor does it live in fairyland as do the *Nights*, but it is an existent reality in our day, a genuine literary revelation and force, as absolutely fresh as the scraps of barbaric verse which may come to us from tribes in Africa or South America, and infinitely more perfect and true. Those are of interest to us only because men have sung them; these, which we have here, we can treasure for themselves.

It will be well first to state shortly what is contained in this book. Following in the traces of Wallin and Wetzstein, and largely under the

stimulus of a university *colleg* on modern Arabian poetry held by the latter in Berlin, the late Professor Socin, during his stay in the East in 1869–70, made it an object to collect and study specimens of this desert poetry. These he worked at with the same elaborate care in transcription and exposition which he had given to his similar studies in Kurdish and modern Aramaic. In part, the poems were dictated to him from memory and, in part, read from a manuscript collection which he picked up, a *safīna* to be used by a wandering reciter, much such in appearance and purpose as that careless but priceless manuscript of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, which alone has preserved to us the old romance. In Arabia proper Professor Socin does not seem himself to have ever been; Mesopotamia and the Arab 'Irāq were the farthest which he reached. Nor do the reciters whom he employed seem to have been of remarkable ability. It is left in doubt, even, to what extent they were professional rāwīs and to what mere amateurs. The best, a man of the tribe of 'Aqēl and a native of Brēde, had himself made verses in his youth, but, later, had turned, after a fashion, to sacred learning. Socin considered him "sicher einer der besten Kenner der heutigen Nedschd-poesie," but for so strong an opinion there seems little ground. Certain only is that he was the best that Socin found outside of Arabia. If he had himself penetrated to Brēde, Hāil or Riād, the case would probably have been different. Another far inferior reciter was from Anēze in Nejd, and a third still worse was from northern Ḥasā, which cannot be reckoned to the true Arabia. From this last, however, the manuscript spoken of above was obtained. So there grew up what Professor Socin calls, not inaptly, a kind of *Ḥamāsa*, a collection of poems written down in Arabic and transcription with translation, introductory remarks as to the occasion of each and glosses on the difficult words and phrases — the basis at least for future labor.

These recitations, then, and the manuscript in question form the basis of the present book. Professor Socin kept them lying by him, apparently, for nearly thirty years and then turned to study them again with the assistance of what material he could elsewhere gather. Of that the first part was the *Collegienheft*, containing his notes from Wetzstein's lectures, dealing with the poems which Wallin had published in *ZDMG.*, Vols. V and VI, and with some from Wetzstein's own collection. Second, and perhaps more important, were the three manuscripts brought back by Charles Huber from Nejd and now preserved in the library of the University of Strassburg. There were other scraps, also, gathered here and there, but nothing else of account. The collections of Landberg and Wetzstein were inaccessible. On this basis, then, the book is built up, and after the following plan: First is given the material of the *diwān* itself in Arabic text and transcription throughout, printed page for page, and with a running commentary at the foot of each page. The transcription is the basis and the Arabic text is given, from manuscripts or by reconstruction, mostly as a concession to those weaker brethren who prefer to read Arabic in Arabic characters. The commentary consists

partly of original glosses derived from the reciters mentioned above and partly of notes by Professor Socin himself. In the reconstruction of the text, so far as that was attempted, the editor was guided in the first instance by metrical considerations, and, secondly, by grammar and the analogy of the language. Yet but little attempt has been made to restore the poems into their presumed original form as to order and number of verses, etc. Even when the same *qaṣīda* existed in several recensions, manuscript or oral, it was apparently felt that there were no adequate materials for such restoration. The utmost achieved has been to deal with each verse separately. It is significant for the importance which Professor Socin attached to meter that the gaps in the text are marked in metrical signs; at these points there must originally have stood such and such a combination of long and short syllables. At the end of this first part on the text come a number of excursus dealing with points which could be better treated when grouped; *e. g.*, the camel and its saddle, weapons, parts of the body, etc. These are singularly useful and informing; the only pity is that they do not extend further, as, *e. g.*, over the camel-litter. The second part consists of a translation of the texts, with some few notes added. This translation is, of purpose, flat and dull to a degree. All more ornate language has been carefully avoided, and the utmost simplicity and exactness of rendering attempted. Some few passages have been left in the decent obscurity of the original; unfortunately, they, as usual, are of high importance sociologically and as pictures of manners. The third part covers the introduction, glossary and indices with the final notes of the editor. The introduction extends to 244 pages, of which 174 are devoted to an analysis of the grammar and 20 to the meters. All is of the first importance and is a most weighty contribution to Arabic dialectology. In it we learn what Professor Socin's opinion was of the texts presented. They are of two kinds, literary and popular, couched in essentially different dialects. The literary dialect is one which has to be learned even by the natives of central Arabia; the popular dialect, called *nabṭi*, is their mother-tongue. It is interesting to find that the name of the despised peasantry who spoke broken Arabic in the early days has now passed over to mean, even in Arabia itself, the Arabic of common life. In the first are written, recited, and sung *qaṣidas*, similar in all essentials to the *qaṣidas* of classical Arabic; in the second are sung and recited such songs and tales as appeal to the people. The first is part of a literary development extending from the poems of Imr al-Qays to those of the court poets today at Brēde, Ḥāil, or Riād; in the second is the truly popular poetry of Arabia. In the first at least five of the old meters can be recognized — among which *ṭawīl* is overwhelmingly the most frequent, and the language is much the same for the whole of Arabia, being a literary *lingua franca* apart from the common speech. On the vexed question of *i'rāb* in modern Arabic Professor Socin had, as is well known, a very definite opinion. Whether that opinion would have held if he had himself traveled in Arabia proper may be a question, but it is here laid down

absolutely that in the popular speech of central Arabia there is no proper *i'rāb* and that it is a question whether *i'rāb* still plays any part even in the literary tradition. This is especially directed against Palgrave. It is certainly a great pity that the only Arabists in the exact sense who have ever visited Nejd should have been Wallin and Palgrave. Neither Doughty, Euting, Huber, Nolde, Pelly, or the Blunts would claim such a title, and even Palgrave himself had received no modern training. Palgrave's veracity, of course, is in strong doubt, yet Wallin's report, apart from picturesqueness of statement, essentially supports him, and Landberg found with Bedawī tribes near Jidda practically the same linguistic phenomena. It is quite intelligible that travelers entering Arabia and speaking and understanding only the broken Arabic of Syria should have been met with the same kind of talk. Throughout this whole section Socin shows a marked hostility to Palgrave—shared, it is true, by many other Arabists—which he supports in every possible way. One is a story picked up from the Jesuit fathers at Ghazīr that Palgrave got no farther than the Gyōf, was stopped there by illness, and reached al-Ḥasā by another route, while his native companion went on through Arabia. Yet, though he passes it on, Socin evidently gave no great credence to this story; it might easily have arisen after Palgrave had left the Society of Jesus. Against it all is to be set Stumme's note (iii, p. 340) that Glaser had added to Socin's manuscript at this point numerous notes in defense of Palgrave. Of these Stumme wished to make use, but Glaser refused his permission—a most unfortunate reticence on the part of a scholar not famous for reticence. That Palgrave was a *bête noire* to Socin is evident throughout; *e. g.*, iii, pp. 5, 9. Finally, the glossary of nearly eighty pages contains what perhaps in the end will be the most valuable philological side of the book. It is worked out with the greatest care and shows Professor Socin's wide knowledge of Arabic dialects at its best. The texts will be replaced by others more perfect; the sketch of grammar is more or less tentative and does not rest on a deep and recent knowledge of the Nejd dialect as actually spoken; this lexicographical element will probably be the most abiding.

Definite criticism of so monumental a work, left us by a master who has now gone to his rest, can be little in place. All that the following notes will attempt, therefore, is to bring out the character of the book and its probable place in our knowledge of Arabia. First, as to the texts: there are already in existence and in European hands two great collections of such poetry as is here, and from these it may be that the next step will be taken. They are those of Wetzstein and of Landberg. With regard to both it was certainly unfortunate that the whole body of material could not have been worked up together by one scholar. The *qaṣidas* would certainly have attained a more perfect form. The problem here, indeed, is almost exactly that which met the second generation of Arabic humanists when they attempted to arrange, to correct, and to explain the spoils of poetry gathered by the first generation in the desert. The parallelism is most complete. In both cases we have a large poetical

literature existing partly in *safīnas*, the books of words used by the
wandering reciters, and partly carried in the memory, subject to all
manner of corruptions, dislocations, imperfections; this is in a formal
literary dialect varying more or less from the language of common life;
each, too, is connected with the other by unbroken descent; the poets of
today with their reciters are the heirs in the right line of the heathen
singers before Muḥammad and their *rāwis*. To both, then, enter from
without eager gatherers, students, editors. They try to learn this lan-
guage of the desert and to steep themselves in this literature. They
build up complete poems out of fragments, reject interpolations, collect
the poems of each poet separately, purify the texts from the blunders of
reciters and equip them with commentaries and introductions. Unhap-
pily, in this new invasion of the desert, we have not yet got so far; we
are still at the stage of collecting and studying line by line. The object,
too, of some at least of us is different. The sternly scientific attitude
toward these songs which sees in them only stuff for grammar and
lexicon would hardly have been intelligible to the earlier humanists who,
however much they professed to hunt them for the light they cast on the
Qur'ān, had a full feeling for their beauty and rolled their strong, sweet
lines with delight from their lips. In these present songs, in spite of
loss and corruptions, the flash of the old beauty still lives, and it is hard
to understand Socin's attitude when he judges that the people of Nejd
have no right to be proud of them. Any people might be proud of such
a sweep in literature, from the sixth to the twentieth century. Unhap-
pily, the translation gives little chance to judge of this. It has been
made on the severest principles of literal accuracy and elaborate pro-
saicness; in it is no touch of the glint and glamor of the originals. For
that it is necessary to turn to the Arabic, and the student of literature at
large is thus shut out from a source the value of which for him would be
high. Another point to which Socin seems hardly to have done justice
is the feeling for rhythm and meter among the Arabs. Here he is at
odds with the experience of both Sachau and Landberg and with his
own essential principles. It is hard to see how it can be possible, if the
Arabs have no special feeling for rhythm and meter, to apply metrical
schemes with any certainty to correct their texts. Yet that is precisely
the point in which Socin's method differs from that of older investigators,
Wetzstein for example. Generally, indeed, it is to be regretted that
Socin, on this and on other sides, should have been limited to so few
representatives of the Nejd literary culture. His authorities may have
been deficient in metrical feeling, just as they were evidently deficient
in their tradition and interpretation of texts. There have been eminent
European actors, for that matter, who had the queerest ideas about the
meaning, and even wording, of certain passages in their parts. As for
the general status of letters in Nejd, the mere fact that the edition of
aṭ-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, which is being printed at Cairo, is based on a manu-
script in the library of the Emirs of the family of ar-Rashīdat Ḥāil,
should make us pause at too hasty generalization. It is highly probable

that a well-read Arabist who could make himself a *persona grata* would find there not only manuscripts, but an intelligent interest in them and knowledge of them. Arabia does not consist of Bedawîn only.

What, now, to sum up, is the new thing which we have here? The book has, as was said at first, very many sides. It touches the Old Testament in ii, 142, for example, where Hos. 7:14 is explained; folklore in ii, 64, where the use of different suits of armor by the hero of a tale is touched; the old Arabic poetry in ii, 66, where we have a parallel to vs. 66 of the *Mu'allaqa* poem of 'Antara. But the new thing which this book brings is the fact that in Arabia at the present day we have a lineal and legitimate descendant of the old classical poetry, of the same stuff and kind as to nature and as to art. If it could only be made accessible and real to students of literature! But that will come.

The editor, Professor Stumme, Socin's successor at Leipzig, has done his work admirably.

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ON ECCLESIASTICUS.[1]

The present volume forms the concluding part of a work which all students of the Old Testament will regard with interest, namely, a complete and uniform publication of all those portions of the Hebrew text of Bar Sira which are thus far known. The first volume, which was published in 1898, contained chaps. 39:15—49:11, and was reviewed for this JOURNAL in the October number of the year 1898, pp. 42-48. The plan and method of the present volume are the same as those of its predecessor, and for some of the leading characteristics the reader may be referred to the former review.

The portion of Ecclesiasticus here published includes chaps. 3:6—16:26 (numbered 16:24 in both text and commentary, but not in the Introduction); parts of 18, 19, 20 (omitted on the title page), 25 and 26; 30:11 (incorrectly printed "31:11" on the title page)—33:3; 35:9 (title page, "35:19")—38:27; 49:12c (title page, "49:11")—51:30. The Hebrew text is printed on the left-hand page, the French translation on the right-hand page, while the lower half of either page is occupied with critical notes, chiefly of a textual character. An Introduction of seventy pages gives a description of the four manuscript fragments on which the text is based, and discusses some of the most important questions relating to the origin and affinities of this new Hebrew version. At the end of the book there is a long list of corrections and additions, both to this volume and to the preceding one.

Students of Bar Sira will look first of all to see what conclusion M. Lévi has reached as to the age and authority of this Hebrew text. In his former publication, he defended the thesis that the newly found ver-

sion is not a translation, but a survival from the original; this opinion he retracted, however, in the following year. He now presents anew and at some length (pp. xviii–xlv) the evidence afforded by the fragments which have more recently come to light, and decides, as most of the best scholars have done, that this Hebrew is in the main a genuine survival from the original. He recognizes in the acrostic psalm, chap. 51, on the other hand, a translation from the Syriac, and shows that many double readings and corrections in the text, throughout the book, owe their origin to the influence of this same version. Such doublets are printed by him in the translation in a different variety of type, so as to be readily distinguished.

The critical notes do not form the most important part of M. Lévi's work, though they are sometimes excellent. His generally conservative attitude toward the text of these fragments deserves praise. The difficulties in the way of emendation and restoration are enormous here, and mere ingenuity is likely to be thrown away. The only method of procedure likely to achieve important gains is the one which he himself describes (p. xlvi), namely, a rigorous criticism of every verse and every word with the constant aid of the materials of both early and late Hebrew and of the old versions. To this may be added, that the versions themselves should be subjected to a more rigorous criticism than they have thus far received; and that the task of restoring the original text belongs of right only to those who are thoroughly (not superficially) acquainted with Hellenistic Greek and Syriac, as well as with Hebrew.

M. Lévi gives considerable attention to the numerous and noticeable points of contact, both in thought and phrase, between Bar Sira and some of the classical Greek writers. His conclusion, expressed with due caution, is that the Hebrew sage was familiar with many of the masterpieces of Greek literature, such as the tragedies of Euripides and the didactic poems of Theognis. Admitting that the points of correspondence in general are in such ideas as are common to all moralists, of whatever age or nation, he nevertheless holds that the most natural explanation of these literary phenomena is to be found in the inclination toward Greek culture of which he finds other evidence in the book. Here, as in other points, those who do not agree with M. Lévi's conclusions will nevertheless find his argument instructive.

It is to be hoped that these fragments of Bar Sira will be widely read and studied by students of Hebrew; and to all such, whether teachers or pupils, this present work is to be recommended.

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THE POETIC FORM OF THE FIRST PSALM.[*]

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It is generally supposed that the poetic form of the first psalm is imperfect. Reuss says in his posthumous translation of the Old Testament[1] that the language of this psalm is plain and clear, but that there are no regular verses or stanzas.[2] Duhm remarks in his commentary[3] that there seem to be no strophes[4] in the first psalm, but only irregular *stichoi*, whose style and phraseology approximate to prose. He considers the alliteration in the open-ing words, אַשְׁרֵי הָאִישׁ אֲשׁר,[5] an awkward cacophony, and believes that the use of the relative pronoun is prosaic rather than poetic. But in the first line, אַשְׁרֵי הָאִישׁ אֲשׁר־לֹא הָלַךְ, the relative pro-noun could not be dispensed with, and in the following lines the rhythm shows אֲשׁר to be due, in two cases, to scribal expansion. Glossators have often inserted the relative pronoun where it was omitted by the original authors.[6] On the other hand, Duhm remarks that וְהָיָה at the beginning of v. 3 is more vivid than the prosaic כִּי יִהְיֶה, and that שָׁתֻל is used exclusively in poetry. This, however, would not prove much, since the first line of v. 3 is a quotation from Jer. 17,8 (a post-Jeremianic addition),[7] just as the preceding second line of v. 2 is based on Josh. 1,8 (a Deu-teronomistic expansion).

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[*] Read at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, New York, December 31, 1902. For the abbreviations used in this paper see my *Book of Canticles* (Chi-cago, 1902), p. 17 = HEBRAICA, 18, 207.

The view, maintained by Baethgen,[8] that Ps. **1** is quoted in Josh. **1**,8 (and Jer. **17**,8),[9] and that it must therefore have been composed, at the latest, in the sixth century B. C., is untenable. The argument that a prose writer may quote a poet, but not *vice versâ*, is not valid : poets often quote, or allude to, the Scriptures. Ps. **1** (as well as Ps. **2**, which seems to have been composed for the coronation of the first Hasmonean king of the Jews, Aristobulus, the eldest son of the Maccabean conqueror John Hyrcanus, in 104 B. C.)[10] is a Maccabean psalm.[11]

Sievers says in his *Metrische Studien*,[12] p. 500, that Ps. **1** contains so much that is exceptional and objectionable from a metrical point of view that it is impossible to decide whether these imperfections are due to subsequent corruption of the text or to the lack of poetic skill on the part of the original author. In v. 2 Sievers proposes to omit the allusion to Josh. **1**,8, ובתורתו יהגה, as a doublet of the preceding בתורת יהוה; but it is sufficient to read, with Lagarde[13] and Duhm,[9] ביראת יהוה;[14] and the meter becomes quite smooth if we transpose חפצו, thus reading, כי־אם חפצו ביראת יהוה.

This psalm is composed in משלים[15] with two beats in each hemistich. The principal changes necessary for the restoration of the poetic form are the transposition of חפצו and the transposition of לא־עמד which must be combined with לא־ישב at the end of the second verse. The verb for both בעצת רשעים[16] and ובדרך חטאים[17] is לא־הלך. The three verbs עמד, הלך, ישב undoubtedly form a climax (so Ibn Ezra, Hugo Grotius, and J. D. Michaelis).[18] In v. 3 פלגי, which is wanting in the original passage Jer. **17**,8 here quoted,[9] must be canceled as an explanatory gloss.[19] In v. 4 Sievers rightly omits אשר before the relative clause תדפנו רוח,[19] but the relative pronoun must be omitted also in the preceding clause, וכל־אשר־יעשה יצליח, which does not mean, And whatsoever he (the righteous) does, prospers, but, And all that it (the tree) produces thrives ; whatever it bears, all ripens.[20] 𝔗 paraphrases correctly, וכל לבלבי הבלבלב מנרנר ומצלח, and all its fruit-buds which it puts forth, develop into seed-bearing fruit and thrive ; *cf.* כן פרי עשה פרי למינו אשר זרע בו Gen. **1**,11. On the tree of the righteous there are no blind buds, neither are his enterprises nipped in the bud. 𝔊 repeats לא כן after הרשעים, and the meter requires this repetition ;[21] לא כן, solemnly pronounced, is a full hemistich,[22] Not so

the wicked, not so!! We occasionally pronounce No, sir!! in this emphatic manner. In the same way the meter requires the repetition of לא before חטאים (v. 5).[32]

At the end of v. 4 𝕲 adds ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς. This is not a doublet of the translation of על־כן[33] at the beginning of the following verse, as Duhm's supposes, but the misplaced end of the last verse. The conclusion of this psalm is mutilated. We can hardly believe that it ended with the ominous statement תאבד[34] or תאבד[35] מפני־ארץ; there must have been a more auspicious final line, perhaps אשרי האיש אשר־יהוה אלהיו[36]; cf. Ps. 144, 15. If we add this euphemistic conclusion[37] we have a poem of three stanzas,[38] each stanza consisting of five משלים[11] with two beats in each hemistich, just as in the first stanza of the poem, in the Book of Canticles, which I have designated as Springtide of Love.[39]

The Hebrew text of Ps. 1 must be restored as follows:

1	אשרי האיש אשר־לא הלך
	בעצת רשעים ובדרך חטאים[]
	ובמושב לצים [לא־עמד] לא־ישב׃
2	כי־אם {חפצו} ב׳י׳ר׳א׳ת יהוה{}
	ובתורתו יהגה יומם ולילה׃
3	והיה כעץ שתול על־‑מים
	אשר פריו יתן בעתו
	ועלהו לא־יבול וכל־‑יעשה יצליח׃
4	לא־כן הרשעים 'לא ǀ כן'
	כי־אם כמץ יתדפנו רוח ()׃
5	על־כן לא־יקמו רשעים במשפט
	ולא' חטאים בעדת צדיקים׃
6	כי־יודע יהוה דרך צדיקים
	ודרך רשעים תאבד '(מפני־ארץ)
	אשרי האיש אשר־יהוה אלהיו'׃

(γ) 4 אשר   (β) אשר   (α) 3 פלגי

This psalm may be translated as follows:[30]

1 Háppy the mán	who néver fóllowed[17]
The coúnsel[31] of the wícked,[32]	nor the coúrse of the sínners,[33]
Nor in the cómpany of the scóffers[34]	either stoód or sát;[17]
2 But who tákes delíght	in the feár[35] of J'HVH,
And recítes[36] His Láw[37]	both dáy and níght.[38]
3 He will bé like a treé,	firmly plánted by ⍺ wáter,[39]
Which yiélds its frúit	at the próper seáson,
Its leáves never wíther,	all β it beárs rípens.
4 Nót so the wícked,[32]	nót só!!—
But théy are like cháff	γ dispérsed by the wínd.[40]
5 Thérefore the wícked[32]	will not stánd[41] in the júdgment,[42]
Neíther the sínners[33]	in the congregátion of the ríghteous;[43]
6 For J'HVH knóws[44]	the coúrse of the ríghteous,[43]
But the coúrse of the wícked[32]	strays to rúin and éxile.[45]
Háppy the mán	whose Gód is J'HVH![46]

(⍺) 3 canals of   (β) which   (γ) 4 which (is)

Notes.

(1) Eduard Reuss, *Das Alte Testament*, vol. 5 (Braunschweig, 1893), p. 52.

(2) H. Graetz observes in his critical commentary on the Psalms (Breslau, 1882) that the antithetic parallelism in Ps. 1, 3. 4 is rather prosaic, and that the language of the whole psalm is prosaic. J. D. Michaelis stated in his German translation of the Old Testament, part 6 (Göttingen, 1782), p. 237, that the style of the first psalm was less poetic than that of the majority of the other poems in the Psalter. H. Ewald, on the other hand, calls the language of Ps. 1 'flowery' (*blühend*); see his *Psalmen und Klagelieder*, third edition (Göttingen, 1866), p. 219.

(3) Bernh. Duhm, *Die Psalmen* (Freiburg i. B., 1899).

(4) The term *strophe* should be used only of quantitative poetry, not of Hebrew accentual poetry. A stanza of two מְשָׁלִים or double-hemistichs (see below, note 15) should be called a couplet; and a stanza of three מְשָׁלִים, a triplet; *cf.* below, notes 7 and 10.

(5) Not recorded in Dr. Casanowicz's dissertation *Paronomasia in the Old Testament* (1894) = *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 12, 105–167 (1893); *cf.* Umbreit's remarks in his commentary on Proverbs (Heidelberg, 1826), p. 195.

(6) See *e. g.* critical notes on Proverbs (SBOT), p. 43, l. 8; Numbers, p. 58, l. 45; p. 66, l. 8.

(7) The text of Jer. 17, 7. 8 must be arranged in two triplets (*cf.* above, note 4); each line consists of two hemistichs, and each hemistich has two beats. In v. 7 אָשֻׁר יִבְטַח בִּיהוָה is an explanatory gloss; not יהוה מִבְטַחוֹ, as Duhm supposes. The addition of אָשֻׁר יִבְטַח בִּיהוָה was probably suggested by the corresponding hemistich of v. 5,

אשר יבטח באדם, just as the Qĕrê יראה, instead of the Kĕthîb יראֿ,
is an adaptation to ולֿא יראה in v. 6 (so, correctly, Streane, *The Double
Text of Jeremiah*, Cambridge, 1896). In the same way והיה עלהו
רענן is an explanatory gloss to the following line. We must read as
follows:

7 ברוך הגבר	יֿהוה מבטחו:
8 והיה כעץ	שֿתול על־מים
ועלֿי יובל	ישֿלח שֿרשֿיו
ולֿא יֿרא	כֿי־יבא חֿם
וֿבשֿנת בצֿרת	לֿא יֿדאג
ולֿא יֿמיש	מעֿשֿות פֿרי:

(*a*) 7 אשר יבטח ביהוה (והיה)   (*β*) 8 והיה עלהו רענן

It is not necessary to read, with Graf and Duhm, ואֿל יובל for יובל,
cf. אובל Dan. 8,2. 3. 6 and יֿבלי מֿים Is. 30,25; 44,4. The כי in the
second hemistich of the second triplet is concessive (*cf.* critical notes on
Proverbs, SBOT, p. 39, l. 43) and for this reason it is stressed. The
סֿוֿף פֿסוק of v. 7 should be placed after שֿרשֿיו at the end of the first
triplet. Contrast Cornill's metrical reconstruction in *Die metrischen
Stücke des Buches Jeremia* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 33, also W. Erbt, *Jeremia
und seine Zeit* (Göttingen, 1902).

The preceding verses should be arranged as follows:

5 כֿה־אֿמר יֿהוה	אֿרור הגבר
אשֿר־יבטח באדם	ושֿם־בשֿר זֿרעו
ומֿפֿי יֿהוה	יֿסור לֿבו:
6 והיה כעֿרֿעֿר	בערבה [לֿא־תֿשֿב]
ולֿא יֿראה	כֿי־יבא טֿוב
ושֿכן חֿרֿרים•	אֿרץ מֿלֿחֿה [[]]:

(*a*) 6 במדבר

For ומֿן יֿהוה we must read ומֿפֿי יֿהוה (*haplography*). This poetic
byform of מֿן should be pointed throughout מֿפֿי (based on the analogy
of עֿדֿי, אֿלֿי, עֿלֿי, &c.) not מֿפֿי. In Ps. 45,9 (*cf.* below, note 11) we
must read מֿפֿי הֿיכֿלי מֿן חֿלֿיל וכֿפֿור שֿמֿחֿוֿך (*cf.* 1 Macc. 3,45) or
לֿא־תֿשֿב נֿבֿלֿים וֿתֿפֿים שֿמֿחֿוֿה (*cf.* 1 Macc. 9,39). The relative clause
(not תֿנֿשֿב; לֿא־תֿשֿב = תֿושֿב) at the end of v. 6 must be inserted after
בערבה, and במדבר must be canceled as an explanatory gloss to the
preceding ἅπαξ λεγόμενον חֿרֿרים.

(8) Friedrich Baethgen, *Die Psalmen,* second edition (Göttingen, 1897).

(9) See also Fr. W. Schultz in Strack and Zöckler's commentary (Nördlingen, 1888). Franz Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, fifth edition (Leipzig, 1894), p. 66, says, Ps. 1 is pre-Jeremianic; *cf.* also DeWette-Baur, fifth edition (Heidelberg, 1856) and contrast Olshausen (1853) and Hupfeld-Nowack, third edition (Gotha, 1888), *ad loc.*

(10) Ps. 2 consists of four triplets, each triplet (*cf.* above, note 7) is composed of three double-hemistichs. The clauses עַל־יְהוָֹה וְעַל מְשִׁיחוֹ (v. 2) and אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יְלִדְתִּיךָ 'I have this day created (*i. e.*, constituted, appointed) thee' (v. 7) are explanatory additions. In the same way בְּאַפּוֹ (v. 5) is a gloss to the following וּבַחֲרוֹנוֹ, also בָּרִים (v. 8) and וְגִילוּ (v. 11) or rather וְחִילוּ (Ewald, Graetz); for ג = ח *cf.* my *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte* (Leipzig, 1882), p. 166; *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1890), p. 255. The last but one line of Ps. 2 must be restored as follows: עִבְדוּ יְהוָֹה בְּיִרְאָה נַשְּׁקוּ בַר בִּרְעָדָה; the phrase נַשְּׁקוּ בַר (Ⅱ בְּרָא) means 'Kiss the ground,' Assyr. nuššiqû qaqqara (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, p. 486ᵇ, below); *cf.* Job 39, 4; post-Biblical שׁוֹר הַבָּר 'wild ox,' חֲזִיר שֶׁל בַּר 'wild boar,' Arab. عسل البرّ ‘ásal el-barr 'wild honey,' barraⁿ wa-baḥraⁿ = *terra marique* (note שָׂדֶה Ezek. 26, 6.8); contrast *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 19, 3, and Hubert Grimme, *Psalmenprobleme* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1902), p. 21 (Grimme proposes to read: בְּחַיִל וּבִרְעָדָה נַשְּׁקוּ גְבָר); also Cheyne's remarkable 'emendations' in his *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 3950, note 6, and col. 3951. Bachmann, *Textus Psalmorum Massorethicus* (Berolini, 1894), suggested הִכָּשְׂאוּ בָּרְכוּ = *Erhebet euch* (or *Wohlan*)—*sinket in's Knie!* I accept the exclamation-mark. The final clause of Ps. 2, אַשְׁרֵי כָּל חוֹסֵי־בוֹ, is, of course, a euphemistic liturgical appendix; see Dr. Grimm's dissertation on this subject (Baltimore, 1901), p. 13; *cf.* Goldziher's *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, vol. 1 (Leyden, 1896), pp. 18 ff. (*Fetischkraft des Wortes*) referred to in D. B. Macdonald's review in the *American Journal of Theology*, vol. 6, 3 (July, 1902), p. 559. For Grimme's new book *cf.* Nestle's review in Peiser's OLZ 6, 34 (Jan. '03).

As to בַר in נַשְּׁקוּ בַר, Father Oussani has called my attention to the fact that a village near Baalbec is called برّ الياس Barr Alias (or Iljas) 'Region of Elijah.' Arab. barr 'land' is prefixed (like Assyr. mat and Heb. אֶרֶץ or שָׂדֶה) to several geographical names, *e. g.* برّ العدوة Barr el-'Adue (Shore-land) = Morocco (*Mauretania Tingitana*); البرّ الطويل el-barr eṭ-ṭauíl (The Long Land) = Italy (see *e. g.* Abulfeda's تقويم البلدان, ed. Reinaud, Paris, 1840, p. 169, l. 8). In modern Arabic we have برّ الشام Barr eš-Šam, instead of بلاد الشام Bilád eš-Šam, for Syria; برّ فارس Barr Fáris for Farsistân (Περσίς), برّ الاناضول Barr el-Anáḍôl = Anatolia (*Asia Minor*);

بَرْ مِصر Barr Miçr = Egypt; also the Sudan is called بَرْ. For

عسل البَرْ ʼásal el-barr 'wild honey' *cf.* نبات البَرْ nabát el-

barr 'wild plants' and حيوان البَرْ ḥaiauán el-barr 'wild animals'

(Heb. חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה and חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ, Assyr. umâm çeri).

(11) Esrom Rudinger in his *Liber Psalmorum paraphrasis Latina* (Görlitz, 1580-1) suggested, more than 300 years ago, that Ps. 1 alluded to the numerous apostates at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees; *cf.* Rosenmüller's *Scholia in Psalmos*, second edition (Leipzig, 1821), p. 6. In the same way Olshausen (1853) referred this psalm to the times of the Syro-Macedonian dominion. Cheyne, on the other hand, says in his Bampton Lectures on the Psalter (London, 1891), p. 241, that Ps. 1 is pre-Maccabean: 'it may well have been the introduction to a large pre-Maccabean Book of Psalms.' In the notes to his translation of the Psalms in the *Parchment Library* (London, 1884), p. 215, Cheyne stated that 'this prefatory psalm was evidently written during the fresh enthusiasm for Ezra's law-book (Ezra 8).' According to Graetz (*cf.* above, note 2) Ps. 1 was composed about 200 B. C.; according to Hitzig, about 85 B. C. (Alexander Jannæus). Lagarde (*Mittheilungen*, 3, 111, No. 15) believed that Pss. 1 and 2 were a preface to the Psalter, derived from Ps. 83 which he assigned, with Venema, DeWette-Baur, Delitzsch(?), to the time of Jehoshaphat (873–849 B. C.); *cf.* 2 Chr. 20. But Ps. 83 is a Maccabean psalm (just as Pss. 1 and 2); it refers to the coalition against the Jews, formed by the neighboring heathen tribes, Edomites, Ammonites, &c., after the first exploits of Judas Maccabeus, about 164 B. C. (*cf.* 1 Macc. 5; Josephus, *Ant.* 12, 8); so Diodorus of Antioch (about 380 A. D.) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (about 400; *cf.* ZAT 7, 56), Salomon Van Til (1690), E. G. Bengel, Hitzig, Hesse, Olshausen, Graetz, Cheyne, Baethgen, Duhm. 𝔐 אַשּׁוּר Ps. 83,9 = Syria; *cf.* Wellhausen, *ad loc.*, in the *Polychrome Bible.*

I believe that Ps. 1 was written at the time of the Maccabee Jonathan (161-143 B. C.), perhaps about 153 B. C. (*cf.* below, note 45), that is, a few years before the nuptials at Ptolemais of Alexander Balas and Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy VI. Philometor of Egypt (150 B. C), which are celebrated in Ps. 45; *cf.* my *Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902), p. 22, note 7 = HEBRAICA, 18, 212.

Ps. 45 consists of ten couplets (*cf.* above, note 4) with three beats in each hemistich (Sievers: *Doppeldreier*), that is the same meter which we find in nearly all the songs of the Book of Canticles. The end of the title in the Received Text, אָ'מֹכִיל שִׁיר יְדִידֹת' forms the first hemistich (*A love-song with skill I indite*); for אַמֹכִיל instead of מַמֹכִיל see my *Canticles*, p. 71, *ad* Cant. 2,9 (= HEBRAICA, 19, 18). In v. 3 אֱלֹהִים must be omitted (so, too, in vv. 7. 8; *cf.* my remarks in the critical notes on Numbers, SBOT, p. 57, l. 11, and my translation of Is. 40 in Drugulin's *Marksteine*, Leipzig, 1902), and at the end of this verse we must insert הוֹדְךָ וַהֲדָרֶךָ (v. 4), which are not nouns but verbs, coordinated to בֵּרַכְךָ,

lit. 'one blesses, praises, glorifies thee' (Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 144, *d*); so, too, מְשַׂחֵק v. 8. This impersonal construction is much more frequent than is generally supposed, and it is a mistake to change the singular in such cases because 𝔊 has the plural; *cf.* critical notes on Numbers (SBOT), p. 43, l. 31 and the cross-references there given. In the same way we often find an impersonal singular in Sumerian where the inter-linear Assyrian version has the plural, *e. g.*, IV R² 4, 28[b]: ni-nuna ṭur-azagâ-ta mun-tuma 'cream which someone brought from a clean stable,' Assyr. ximêta (חֶמְאָה) ša ištu tarbaçi elli ûblûni, *i. e.*, which *they* brought. The second וְהַדְרָךְ, at the beginning of v. 5, must be pointed וְהִדְרֵךְ, following 𝔊 καὶ ἔντεινον, and prefixed to חִצֶּיךָ הַ'שׁוֹנְנִים' at the beginning of the following verse (*Thine arrows so sharp do thou notch*); מֵחֲבֵרֶךָ *above thy rival*, at the end of v. 8, alludes to Demetrius I. Soter, the son of Seleucus IV. Philopator (1 Macc. **10**, 50); בִּיקְרוֹתֶיךָ and בְּנוֹת מְלָכִים in v. 10 are amplificative plurals (*cf.* critical notes on Proverbs, SBOT, p. 49, l. 3), and the בְּ is the בְּ *essentiæ* (*cf.* critical notes on Numbers, SBOT, p. 57, l. 46); we must translate, But thy most precious jewel is the noble daughter of the great king, who is to stand at thy right as thy consort, and this should be preceded by v. 13: בְּמִנְחָה פָּנַיִךְ יְחַלּוּ עֲשִׁירֵי־עָם בְּכֶתֶם אוֹפִיר.

The original sequence of the verses in the second half of this psalm must have been: 13. 10. 9. 14. 15. 11. 12. 17. V. 16 is a variant to v. 15; v. 17 is, of course, addressed to the bride, not to the bridegroom; we must read, with 𝔖 ܐܒܗܬܟ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܢܝܟ ܬܚܠܦ ܐܒܘܟ, אֲבֹתַיִךְ &c. and תְּשִׂיתֵמוֹ; in the same way v. 9 refers to the bride, and we must read הָ instead of הַ and, at the end of v. 15, מְבִיאוֹת לָהּ, while the preceding v. 14 should be restored as follows: בַּת־מֶלֶךְ לְבוּשָׁהּ לְרִקְמוֹת‖מִמִּשְׁבְּצוֹת זָהָב 'the princess clad in brocade (gorgeously) embroidered in gold.'

Nothing is said in this nuptial song (which was, of course, presented at Ptolemais in Greek; *cf.* מַעֲשַׂי, v. 2, = ποίημα) of the ancestors of the groom (Alexander Balas was a man of humble origin), but the bride is advised to forget her folk and her father's house (the glorious dynasty of the Ptolemies) and to submit to the king, should he desire her beauty. The marriage was evidently not a love-match but a political union: after three years Cleopatra left Alexander Balas and married his antagonist, Demetrius II. Nicator, the son of Demetrius I. Soter. Contrast W. W. Martin's reconstruction of Ps. **45** in HEBRAICA, **19**, 49–51, and Cheyne's 'emendations' (Jerahmeel &c.) in his *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 3955, also W. S. Pratt's Comparative Study of Ps. **45** in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. **19** (1900), p. 217.

(12) *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. **21** (Leipzig, 1901); *cf.* my remarks in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, **21**, 66, n. 22.

(13) *Novae Psalterii Graeci editionis specimen* (Göttingen, 1887), p. 12, below. *Cf.* his *Probe einer neuen ausgabe der lateinischen*

übersetzung des alten testaments (Göttingen, 1885) and his *Mittheilungen*, **2**, 371 (Göttingen, 1887).

(14) Paulus, *Philologische Clavis über die Psalmen* (Heidelberg, 1815), p. 4, suggested וּבְתוֹרָתוּ; Graetz (*cf.* above, note 2), וּבְתַעֲדָתוּ, but this conjecture is not given in his posthumous *Emendationes* (Breslau, 1893). ⅏ has בְּתוֹרַת יְהֹוָה for בְּנִמוּסָא דִידֹוה, and וּבְאוֹרַיְתֵיה for וּבְתוֹרָתוּ, and Saadya translated תּוֹרַת יְהֹוָה by شرائع اللّه šarâ'i'u Allâhi, and וּבְתוֹרָתוּ by وفي توراته wa-fî taurâtihi; see Ewald und Dukes, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten Auslegung und Spracherklärung des A. T.*, part 1 (Stuttgart, 1844), p. 9, and the Leipzig dissertation by S. H. Margulies, *Saadia Al-fajûmî's arabische Psalmenübersetzung* (Breslau, 1884), p. 2; *cf.* also the first (Roman edition of 1614) and second (Paris Polyglot) of the four Arabic versions of the Psalms edited by Lagarde (Göttingen, 1876; see his *Symmicta* **2**, 10), where תּוֹרַת יְהֹוָה is rendered by ناموس الرب nâmûs er-Rabbi, and וּבְתוֹרָתוּ by وفي سننه wa-fî sunanihi.

(15) See my remarks in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, **21, 55**, and *cf.* my *Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902), p. 19 = HEBRAICA, 18, 209. It is incorrect to call the entire psalm a מָשָׁל (so DeWette, Hupfeld, Duhm). Nor is it necessary to suppose that מָשָׁל denoted originally 'sarcastic verses'; contrast Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, 1, 44, n. 1. In my paper on Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual, published in the first part of vol. 19 of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1900), I stated in note 97 (on p. 76) that Heb. מָשָׁל denoted *a poetic line consisting of two hemistichs* and referred to my note on Prov. 1,6 in SBOT. This should have been quoted in Rothstein's paper on the Song of Deborah, ZDMG **56**, 177 (1902).

(16) ⅏ transposes בְּעֵצַת and בְּדֶרֶךְ, rendering: ܘܒܡܠܟܐ and ܒܐܘܪܚܐ; 𝔊, on the other hand, substitutes ἐν βουλῇ = בְּעֵצַת for 𝔐 בְּעֲדַת in v. 5. Olshausen in his Emendations to the Old Testament (Kiel, 1826) suggested עֵדַת instead of עֲצַת (v. 1)—cited by Hengstenberg, *ad loc.*, second edition (Berlin, 1849), p. 9.

(17) *Cf.* Rosenmüller's *Scholia*, second edition, *ad loc.* Grotius says, *Tres hic gradus describuntur male viventium, eorum qui incipiunt, eorum qui perstant, eorum qui plane jam in mala vita acquiescunt.* J. D. Michaelis remarks, *Jedes Glied des Verses sagt etwas mehr als das vorhergehende.* The three verbs הָלַךְ, עָמַד, יָשַׁב, must be translated as preterits, not as presents; Saadya (*cf.* above, note 14) has correctly, لم يسلك، لم يقف، لم يجلس (lam jasluk, lam jaqif, lam jajlis), and Ewald (*cf.* above, note 2) translated: *ging, betrat, sass.*

(18) Contrast Grimme, *Psalmenprobleme* (*cf.* above, note 10), p. 18. The addition of פַּלְגֵי (Assyr. palgu 'canal') was probably suggested by the יוּבַל in Jer. 17,8; *cf.* above, note 7.

(19) It is not necessary to read תִּרְדְּפֶנּוּ, with Lagarde (*cf.* above, note 13); nor need we substitute נָדַף for רָדַף in Ps. 83,16 and Is. 17,13.

In the same way Lagarde's conjecture יֹרְדֵד instead of יֹרֵדַ (v. 6) is gratuitous. The verb יֹדֵע is used with the meaning *nosse cum affectu et effectu*, as the old commentators say, in Assyrian: Ardys, the son of King Gyges of Lydia, sent a message to King Sardanapalus of Assyria, stating: šarru ša ilu idûšu atta, thou art a king whom God (or, rather, a god) cares for, who is under the special protection of a deity; *cf.* Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, 2, 176, l. 123; see also KAT² 73, 12; ZA 2, 215 and 353, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 1, 15 and 315; Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 1, 495, and K. F. Smith, The Tale of Gyges and the King of Lydia in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 23 (Baltimore, 1902). The original meaning of 'פ דֶּרֶךְ יֹדֵע is 'to know the whereabouts of a person, to keep track of him'; see below, note 44.

(20) Literally, and all (the fruit) it (the tree) makes, it (the tree) causes to thrive. *Cf.* καρποὺς ποιεῖν Matt. 7,18, κλάδους ποιεῖν Mark 4,32, ἐλαίας ποιεῖν Jas. 3,12. This correct explanation of וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה is given *e. g.* in Paulus' *Clavis* (*cf.* above, note 14). Ibn Ezra (quoted in Rosenmüller's *Scholia*) says, יֵשׁ אוֹמְרִים כִּי יָשׁוּב כָּל אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה יַצְלִיחַ עַל הָעֵץ, 'There are some who say that the clause וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה יַצְלִיחַ refers to the tree.' It is unnecessary to read the Qal יִצְלַח (Ezek. 17,9. 10) instead of the Hif'il יַצְלִיחַ (against Delitzsch); *cf.* Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 53, *d*, and the participle מַצְלַח in the Targum; יַצְלִיחַ is intransitive (so Baur in DeWette, fifth edition, p. 7 below). *Cf.* Arabic أفلح áflaḥa 'to thrive,' which is used especially of the faithful (قد أفلح المؤمنون qad áflaḥa el-mu'minûna); in the same way النجح ánjaḥa is often intransitive (so, too, ايكٮ in Syriac); see also my remarks in the critical notes on 1 K 22,35 (SBOT).

(21) See Anton, *Specimen editionis Psalmorum* (quoted by Rosenmüller, *op. cit.*, p. 17); Wellhausen in SBOT and in his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, part 6 (Berlin, 1899), p. 166; Graetz's and Oort's *Emendationes*, also Baethgen's commentary. Hitzig, on the other hand, stated (1863) that the repetition of כֵן לֹא in 𝔊𝔍 had no critical import, and Duhm thinks that the second οὐχ οὕτως is due to an oversight.

(22) *Cf.* my remarks in the critical notes on Proverbs (SBOT), p. 33, l. 45.

(23) 𝔊 οὐδὲ ἁμαρτωλοί, 𝔍 *neque peccatores*, 𝔖 ܘܐܦܠܐ ܚܛܝܐ, 𝔈 ⲱⲀϩ︦ⲧⲢ ولا (ثبات) wa-'l-xâṭě'ân, Saadya (*cf.* above, note 14): للخاطيين wa-lâ (thabât) lil-xâṭi'în, and the four Arabic versions edited by Lagarde (*cf.* above, note 14) ولا الخطاة wa-lâ el-xuṭât; 𝔗, however, has simply וּחַיָּיבִין; *cf.* Wright-de Goeje', 2, 303, D; Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 152, *z*. Contrast 2 S 1,21: הָרֵי ה' בַגִּלְבֹּעַ אַל טַל וְאַל מָטָר עֲלֵיכֶם.

(24) Knapp (third edition, Halle, 1789) proposed to read תֹּאבֵד; Graetz (*cf.* above, note 2) suggested תֹּאבְדֵם.

(25) It is not necessary to read, with Lagarde (*cf.* above, note 13), מֵעַל־פְּנֵי־הָאֲדָמָה (Gen. 8,8; 1 K 9,7; 13,34; Jer. 28,16; Am. 9,8; Zeph. 1,2.3; *cf.* Ps. 21,11 פִּרְיָמוֹ מֵאֶרֶץ תְּאַבֵּד; Josh. 23,13 עַד־אֲבָדְכֶם מֵעַל הָאֲדָמָה הַזֹּאת הַטּוֹבָה. Duhm reads עַל פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ at the end of v. 4, following Bickell, and omits עַל־כֵּן at the beginning of v. 5. He thinks that ⅇ διὰ τοῦτο is evidently a secondary correction following ℳ. But עַל־כֵּן is required by the meter; nor is it unsuitable, as Duhm states; לֹא־כֵן הָרְשָׁעִים means, It is not so with the wicked; they are not like trees firmly planted by water, but like chaff which the wind drives away. Therefore they will not stand, &c. Consequently עַל־כֵּן is quite logical and by no means unsuitable.

(26) We might also supply:

(*cf.* Ps. 11,7); or: כִּי־צַדִּיק יְהוָה צְדָקוֹת אָהֵב:

(*cf.* Ps. 58,12); or: אַךְ־יֵשׁ אֱלֹהִים שֹׁפֵט בָּאָרֶץ:

(*cf.* Ps. 62,13); or: כִּי־יְהוָה יְשַׁלֵּם לְאִישׁ כְּמַעֲשֵׂהוּ:

(*cf.* Jer. 17,7).[7] בָּרוּךְ הָאִישׁ יְהוָה מִבְטַחוֹ:

(27) *Cf.* above, conclusion of note 10.

(28) Nearly all modern commentators divide this psalm into two stanzas; *cf.* Friedländer, *Zur Erklärung der Psalmen* (*Programm des Gymnasiums zu Stettin*, 1857), p. 6. Olshausen stated, however, that according to C. von Lengerke (Königsberg, 1847) the psalm consisted of three stanzas. In the same way Bickell in his *Dichtungen der Hebräer*, part 3 (Innsbruck, 1883), assumes three stanzas; so, too, J. Wichelhaus in the *Mitteilungen aus den Vorlesungen*, edited by A. Zahn, part 1 (Stuttgart, 1891), p. 70.

(29) *Cf. Journal of Biblical Literature*, 21, 60, and my *Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902), p. 14 = Hebraica, 18, 204.

(30) I am indebted to the distinguished co-editor of the *Polychrome Bible*, Dr. H. H. Furness, for some valuable suggestions.

(31) That is, the advice of the supporters of Hellenism to give up the Jewish rites and adopt heathen customs. The renegades 'persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the heathen that are round about us' (1 Macc. 1,11; *cf.* 2 Macc. 4,10). The term עֲצַת רְשָׁעִים does not necessarily refer to a council held by the 'ungodly' men (1 Macc. 9,58, καὶ ἐβουλεύσαντο οἱ ἄνομοι). Nor does it mean, in the present passage, 'practical conviction in regard to a mode of life,' so Wellhausen in the *Polychrome Bible* and in his *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte* (Berlin, 1894), p. 171, n. 1 (*praktische Überzeugung, Lebensprincip*). The term עֲצַת רְשָׁעִים refers to the 'platform of the apostates,' the religious and political program of the Hellenizers. *Cf.* Is. 29,15; 30,1.

(32) That is, apostates, traitors, renegades, Hellenizers, anti-Maccabean Jews; AV, ungodly (but in the margin: wicked); ⅇ ἀσεβεῖς, *i. e.*, οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ παραβεβηκότες τὴν πάτριαν πολιτείαν (Josephus, *Ant.*, 13, 1, 1, quoted by Olshausen); *cf.* C. J. Ball's note *ad* 1 Macc. 3,5 in his

Variorum edition of the Apocrypha (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode). At the time of the sacred war of the Maccabees for religious freedom and political independence (167–142 B. C.) there were many apostate Jews who 'hated their own people' (1 Macc. 11,21); they 'forsook the holy covenant (circumcision) and the Law, and joined themselves to the heathen' (1 Macc. 1,15. 52); they embraced the religion of Antiochus Epiphanes, sacrificed to idols, and profaned the sabbath (1 Macc. 1,43; 2,21). For the 'wicked' and the 'sinners' (*cf.* note 33) see also 1 Macc. 2,44. 48. 62; 3,5. 6. 8. 15; 7,5. 9; 9,25. 58; 10,61; 11,25; 15,21 (𝔊 ἀσεβεῖς, ἁμαρτωλοί, ἄνομοι, παράνομοι, λοιμοί, &c.). Instead of 𝔊 (ἐν βουλῇ) ἀσεβῶν other versions have ἀλλοτρίων or παρανόμων, *cf.* Field *ad* Ps. 1,1.

(33) The term חַטָּאִים 'sinners' means also 'traitors, rebels,' *i. e.*, in this case, the Jews who betrayed the Maccabean cause; *cf.* Hezekiah's message to Sennacherib, חָטָאתִי 2 K 8,14. In Assyrian the term xiṭu (= xiṭṭu, xiṭ'u, חֲטָא) is often used of treason and rebellion. The best equivalent of חַטָּא would be the Old French *felon* (apparently of Celtic origin) which means not only 'wicked person' but also 'traitor, rebel'; *cf.* our 'to fall away' (= to renounce allegiance) and the 'fall of man' &c.

(34) That is, those who ridicule the traditional Jewish rites, circumcision, dietary laws, strict observance of the Sabbath, &c. *Cf.* 1 Macc. 9,26 (ἐνέπαιζον αὐτοῖς) and *Pirqe Aboth*, 3,17, ed. Strack (Berlin, 1882), p. 31; Charles Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* (Cambridge, 1897), p. 51. Abraham Geiger and his followers are לֵצִים; *cf.* Lagarde, *Deutsche Schriften* (Göttingen, 1886), p. 326; first edition (Göttingen, 1881), 2, 24. For 𝔊 καθέδραν λοιμῶν *cf.* 1 Macc. 10,61; 15,21. 𝔍 renders in Ps. 1,1: *in cathedra pestilentiae*, but in 1 Macc. 10,61; 15,21 (*viri*) *pestilentes*. The *Quinta* and *Sexta* have in Ps. 1, καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδρᾳ παρανόμων.

(35) That is, the religion; *cf.* Ps. 19,10; Is. 29,13.

(36) Not 'meditates' or 'studies'; הֶגְיוֹן denotes 'recitation, cursory reading' of the Scriptures, not meditation and study (יְרִיעָה); *cf.* Levy's and Jastrow's dictionaries, *s. v.* הָגָה. 'ΑΣ, *Quinta* and *Sexta*, φθέγξεται, 𝔊 μελετήσει. Μελετάω is used especially of rhetorical exercises, rehearsing speeches, &c. The Common Prayer Book Psalter reads, And in His Law will he *exercise* himself day and night. 𝔈 ሕጉ፡ ያነብብ፡ (za-ḫĕggŏ ịånåbĕb) 'who reads (or 'recites') His Law' (it is true that ያነብብ፡ may also mean 'meditates'). The first and the second of the four Arabic versions edited by Lagarde (*cf.* above, note 14) have يتلو ịatlû 'recites' or 'reads' (or 'meditates'), while the third renders: يتهجّا ịatahajjå 'spells over,' and the fourth: يهذّ ịahuddu = يهذّ 'meditates.' Saadya translates: يدرس ịadrusu = يقرأ ịaqra'u 'reads' (or 'recites'); Margulies, however, renders (*cf.* above, note 14) *forscht*.

(37) The Mosaic Law, the Pentateuch.

(38) Allusion to Josh. 1,8.

(39) *Cf.* Jer. 17,8; Ezek. 17,8; 47,7. 12; Eccl. 2,6; contrast Is. 1,30.

(40) The apostates will be 'winnowed' from the faithful; *cf.* Shake-speare's *Cymbeline*, V, 5, 134: 'Bitter torture shall winnow the truth from falsehood.' The renegades will be separated from the orthodox Jews just as chaff is separated from the grain; and as the grain remains on the threshing-floor, while the light chaff is scattered by the wind, so the faithful will remain in the land, while the apostates will be expelled and banished (see below, note 45); *cf.* Job 21,18; Ps. 35,5; Is. 17,13; 30,24; Matt. 3,12.

(41) They will not remain the 'lords of the country' (1 Macc. 9,25); they will not hold their own, but they will succumb; *cf.* Latin *causā stare* and *cadere in judicio* (Tac., *Hist.*, 4,6). ᵴ renders לֹא יָקֻמוּ 'they will not be acquitted,' Assyr. lā izákû.

(42) Not the Last Judgment (ᵴ *ideo non resurgent impii in judicio*), nor the Messianic judgment (G. Beer, *Individual- und Gemeindepsalmen*, Marburg, 1894, p. 1; see also Duhm, *ad loc.*), but the day of reckoning, the final overthrow of the Syro-Macedonians and the punishment and expulsion of their Jewish followers and adherents (1 Macc. 15,21 and especially 14,14; *cf.* below, note 45). See also Ps. 37,38; Ezek. 34,22; Matt. 25,32.

(43) The community of the orthodox Jews. The 'righteous' or ortho-dox are the Assideans (הַחֲסִידִים) who volunteered for the Law (1 Macc. 2,42; 7,13), those who sought justice and judgment (1 Macc. 2,29), *i. e.*, the orthodox Jews (Pharisees) who observed the Law (1 Macc. 13,48). For the Assideans *cf.* Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, vol. 1³·⁴ (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 190. 203. 270.

(44) I have stated in the critical notes on Proverbs (SBOT), p. 38, l. 48 (*cf.* l. 52) that יֹדֵעַ דֶּרֶךְ צַדִּיקִים (*cf.* above, note 19, and Ps. 37, 18, ᴳ γινώσκει Κύριος τὰς ὁδοὺς τῶν ἀμώμων) is nearly equivalent to מְפַלֵּס מַעֲגַל צַדִּיקִים 'He watches the course of the righteous.' *Cf.* Is. 26,7; Prov. 4,26; 5,6. 21 (פַּלֵּס = Assyr. naplusu 'to see, to look at, to watch'). God knows the course of the righteous means, He knows where they have gone and knows where to find them, He 'keeps track of them,' so that He can hasten to their aid, just as a good keeper knows the whereabouts of the animals under his care (*cf.* John 10,15). If any of His sheep should go astray, He will seek them and save the lost sheep (*cf.* Ps. 119, 176); but if the 'wicked' and the 'sinners' (the apostates and the traitors) go astray and are separated from the flock of His pasture, *i. e.*, which He tends (Ezek. 34,31), they will be lost for ever and perish: He will not bring them back to their own land and feed them on the mountains of Israel (*cf.* Matt. 9,36; 1 K 22,17; Is. 13,14; Num. 27,17; Ezek. 34,4–6. 13. 16).

(45) Lit., will stray from the face of the land (Judea), *i. e.*, they will be compelled to leave the country and will be banished from their land; *cf.* הָאֹבְדִים בְּאֶרֶץ אַשּׁוּר וְהַנִּדָּחִים בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם Is. 27,13 and the Assyr. Nif'al na'butu 'to flee,' also the German *Elend* which means etymologically 'another land.' The verb אָבַד is used especially of an

THE GᴱʹULLĀH IN THE BOOK OF RUTH.

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Though we are not definitely informed by the Old Testament
on the connection of the Gᵉ'ullāh with the Levirate, there can be
little doubt that we have to assume a combination of the two for
the oldest times.[1] Whenever it happened that a man died with-
out leaving sons[2] or brothers, the Goël or next of kin became the
heir of the deceased; part of the inheritance was the widow, and
coupled therewith was the duty of the Levirate in order to raise
up the name of the dead.[3] As life became more complex, a reac-
tion against this duty of the Levirate on the part of the Goël
must have set in, so that the second step of the development was
the restriction of the Levirate to the brothers of the deceased,
making it thus a real brother-in-law-marriage. Gen., chap. 38,
shows that the custom began to be felt as a burden even on the
part of the brothers. How much more this must have been the
case on the part of the Goël who was not so closely related to the
deceased as the brother we can easily imagine. And so we see
in Deuteronomy (25:5–10) that another restriction is made, the
third step in the development. Only those brothers who have
lived together with the deceased are bound to take upon them-
selves the duty of the Levirate. It goes without saying that the
Levir was also the heir, the inheritance was always connected
with the Levirate even to the latest phases of its development.

The passage in Deuteronomy is also important in that it shows
that the brother is not under any legal obligation to marry the
wife of his brother who has died without leaving children, he
cannot be compelled by law, the obligation is merely moral, for

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[1] The Old Testament is strangely silent on most of these ancient customs, in all proba-
bility because it was not thought necessary to treat matters known and observed by everyone.

[2] The regulations of the inheritance by daughters belong to a later age.

[3] We learn from Gen., chap. 38, that not only the brothers, but also the father, of the
deceased might be called upon to perform the duty of the Levir. The Goël is always the
next-of-kin; if the son is living the son is the Goël; if the son is not living, but the brother,
then the brother is the Goël; if neither son nor brother is living, then the relative who
stands in the next closest blood-relationship.

we hear nothing of a fine or legal punishment. The punishment is the public shame: "his brother's wife shall come to him in the presence of the elders, and loose his shoe from off his foot, and spit in his face; and she shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto the man that doth not build up his brother's house. And his name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed" (25:9,10). This is, of course, not merely a public humiliation of such a brother. The loosening of the shoe means that he has to forego his right of inheritance, that he cannot be the heir, if he refuses to marry his brother's wife and build up his brother's family, for the right of inheritance is always connected with the Levirate.[4] This restriction of Deuteronomy had much to do with the final abrogation of the Levirate, though naturally other reasons were also operative. The final step was taken by Leviticus (20:21): "If a man take his brother's wife, it is impurity."

We have thus four steps in the development of the Levirate in connection with the Ge'ullāh: (1) the Goēl, whether brother or more distant blood relative, must marry the widow of his kinsman, whose heir he becomes; (2) only brothers are required to perform the duties of the Levirate; (3) only such brothers as have lived together with the deceased; (4) no brother is allowed to take his brother's wife.

Now, in the book of Ruth we have a stage of the Ge'ullāh which, according to the above sketch, is not only not post-exilic, but even pre-deuteronomic; in fact, we face here the oldest stage of the Ge'ullāh, the Goēl who has neither lived together with the deceased, nor is a brother, being obliged, not legally, it is true, but morally, to take Ruth as his wife "to raise up the name of the dead."[5] The obligation of the Levirate is still connected with the Ge'ullāh.

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[4] The essence of the Levirate consists in raising seed for the childless brother. It seems that the connection with the ancient ancestor worship explains the Levirate best of all. The deceased would have to forego the cult if no male descendant of his would take it up, only males being "*kultfāhig.*"

[5] It should be noticed that the other Goēl does by no means deny the obligation of marrying Ruth which rests on him if he buys the inheritance. But it should also be noticed that he is not compelled by any law to do either. It is evident that he looks upon the buying of the land as a privilege, as does also Boas, much more than as a duty. By putting off his shoe he gives, so to speak, documentary attestation that he is willing to forego his privilege, *i. e.*, his privilege of buying the land. Here it is the act of his own free will. In Deuteronomy, where the case is not altogether the same, though the ceremony of the putting off of the shoe means, of course, essentially the same thing here as there, the act is not that of his own free will; he is compelled to give up his right of inheritance.

Just here we meet, however, a serious difficulty. The Goël has here to *buy* the inheritance and with the inheritance he buys the widow. This is manifestly altogether out of accord with the fundamental conceptions of inheritance and Levirate. The heir does not buy his inheritance, nor would the Levir, who is always the heir, buy it; he enters into the place of the deceased by virtue of his blood relationship, and not because he buys this right, which is coupled with obligations.[6] But it will be said that we have here a somewhat more complicated case, where the law of Lev. 25:25 applies: "If thy brother be waxen poor, and sell some of his possession, then shall his kinsman that is next unto him come, and shall redeem that which his brother hath sold." The Goël has to *buy* his inheritance, simply because Naomi had sold it in dire need! In getting thus into the possession of the ground he is, however, not simply doing what the Goël in Lev., chap. 25, does, but more, he is falling heir to the entire inheritance, Ruth included; for "What day thou buyest the field of the hand of Naomi, thou buyest also Ruth the Moabitess, the wife of the dead," 4:5. Read with Bertholet, Nowack, *et al.*, וגם את רות instead of ומאת רות.

As the text stands it is certain that the law of Lev., chap. 25, is to be applied, for we are distinctly told in 4:3 that Naomi *hath sold* (מָכְרָה) her possession, that it is no longer in her hand. But does not the following verse (4:5) show that the punctuation of מכרה is not correct? According to it the field is still in Naomi's hand,[7] for the Goël has to buy it (מִיַּד נעמי) out of the hand of Naomi. We have therefore to punctuate מֹכְרָה, Naomi is about to sell or is offering for sale. The punctuators had in mind the regulation of Lev., chap. 25, and thought the field must have been sold already, that the Goël must redeem it and thus restore the ground to the family of which he is part. That the nearest kinsman had the right (as well as the obligation) to buy the land before it goes into strange hands, they may not have thought of. But that this was so, we see plainly from Jer. 32:7 *sqq.*, where Jeremiah buys the property of his relative in order that it might not be sold to strangers and thus be lost to the family.

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[6] Incidentally it may be noticed that an interesting light on the custom of inheritance is shed in the book of Ruth. When Elimelech died, his sons became, of course, his heirs. Which of the two was the firstborn we do not know, and it does not matter much, since neither came into the possession of the heritage at Bethel. After the sons died childless, the inheritance reverts to their widowed mother, not to their wives. Compare below.

[7] In spite of Bertholet's ingenious explanation, which has been accepted by Nowack.

But if this argument for the punctuation of מֹכְרָה is correct, then we are again facing the difficulty that the Goël has to *buy* the field and take upon himself the duty of the Levirate. Now, we cannot evade the difficulty by saying that קָנָה does not mean here "buy or purchase," but to get possession of, for the מכר plainly forbids this. The idea of the buying is so woven into the text that it cannot be regarded as a later element. That the Goël should have to buy the land might, however, be justified by the exceptional position in which Naomi is ; that he should be even glad to do so may be intelligible on the consideration that he would not have obtained anything of the inheritance, in all probability, if he had not bought it, for, on the face of it, Naomi would never again come into such prosperous circumstances as to redeem it. We may go one step further : it is even intelligible that the Goël bought Ruth in addition or rather together with the buying of the land. The wife is regarded as property. But that he should have *bought* the land and the wife and then taken upon himself the duty of the Levirate is plainly asking too much.

It is claimed, *e. g.*, by Bertholet and Nowack, that the author did not any longer understand the custom of the Levirate, and thus mixed up some things which did not originally belong together. But 1:11, 12 shows very plainly that he did under-stand it, for Naomi says there :

Have I yet sons in my womb, that they may be your husbands ? Turn again, my daughters, go your way, for I am too old to have an husband. If I should say, I have hope, if I should even have an hus-band tonight, and should also bear sons ; would ye therefore tarry till they were grown ? Would ye therefore stay from having husbands ?

Naomi, according to these verses, knows the Levirate, and even in the advanced stage where it is only a brother-in-law-marriage. The writer of the story knows perfectly well what the Levirate is, and according to him no Levirate marriage takes place. Boaz buys and marries Ruth, but does not build up the house of the dead, but his own house. And this raising seed for the dead is after all the essential point of the Levirate.[3] It is certainly note-

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[3] Driver, *L. O. T.*[3], 454, distinguishes the "marriage on the part of the next of kin with a widow left childless" from the Levirate marriage. As reason he gives, "Boaz is not Ruth's *brother-in-law*." But Nowack has rightly replied, "Das ist richtig, aber damit lässt sich doch nicht leugnen, dass die hier vorliegende Verwandtenehe auf derselben Linie liegt wie die Leviratehe und denselben Zweck verfolgte wie diese, ist doch auch Juda Gen. 38 nicht der Thamar Schwager, und doch zweifelt Niemand, dass die von Juda verweigerte und schliesslich erzwungene Gemeinschaft mit dem Levirat in engstem Zusammenhang steht." (*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, Richter, Ruth und Bücher Samuelis, p. 183.) Com-pare also the remarks at the beginning of this paper.

worthy that Naomi does not even hint at the idea that Boaz is obliged to the Levirate because he is the Goël; she simply knows that he is obliged to help them by marrying Ruth. That she should not have thought of it, is impossible in the light of 1:11, 12.

In a paper on "Die Leviratehe im Buche Ruth," in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1903, Heft 2, I have come to the conclusion that the Levirate idea is not an original part of the book of Ruth, and at this point of the present investigation, which has started from a different point and proceeded along different lines and employed different arguments, I have again come upon the difficulty occasioned by it, and again I suggest that it is not in harmony with the original composition of the book, but a later element suggested by the ancient ceremony referred to in 4:7, which occurs in the entire Old Testament only once more in connection with the Levirate, Deut. 25:5–10.

Hence the Gᵉ'ullāh in the book of Ruth is originally not connected with the Levirate. The Goël has the right and duty to redeem his deceased kinsman's property, including wife, but he has not the obligation of the Levirate marriage.

There is, however, one objection to be considered. It might be said that in this case it is not plain why the other Goël was at first willing to perform the part of the kinsman, but did not wish to do it when he heard that he had to take Ruth also; his reason, "lest I mar mine own inheritance," has only meaning if he refers to the Levirate. But Bertholet, who does not take the view represented in this note, has already pointed out that it is in all probability "lediglich Egoismus, was den Goël bestimmt, seine erste Aussage zurückzunehmen. . . . . Im Ganzen genommen spielt er neben Boas eine ähnliche Rolle wie Orpa neben Ruth" (in Marti's *Kurzer Handkommentar, ad loc.*). The last statement hits the mark better than any of the other more or less ingenious explanations. The Goël's excuse is really no valid reason. But suppose it is a real reason. Is it less valid on the hypothesis that the Goël need not enter a Levirate marriage than on the opposite theory? Nowack explains, "er fürchtet durch die ihm enstehende Ausgabe, die schliesslich einem andern zu gut kam, sein eignes Erbe zu schädigen" (*Handkommentar, ad loc.*). But it might be just as reasonable to assume with the Targum (*cf. apud* Bertholet) that the Goël was already married, and to assume that he did not wish to mar his inheritance by this

second marriage.[9] No valid objection can therefore be drawn from the reason which the Goël gives.

We are fortunate in having a test by which to control the correctness of our view of the Geʾullâh.   We saw at the beginning that the combination of the Geʾullâh with the Levirate was one of the most ancient, if not the most ancient stage of the Geʾullâh, and that the right of inheritance was always involved in the Levirate.   Now, in this book of Ruth we have a very late mode of inheritance.   In those ancient times, when the Goël became also the Levir, the inheritance fell to the next male kinsman, if there was no son or brother.   Here, however, the inheritance has fallen to Naomi; she is in possession of it and controls it just as if she were a man.   It is agreed that the law concerning the inheritance of daughters, in case there were no sons, is late, and it will not be doubted that the custom, though we have no law concerning it, where the inheritance reverts to the widowed mother in case of the death of her sons who leave no offspring is also late; and that it is certainly out of accord with the custom where the Goël and heir is also obliged to the Levirate.   We have here two mutually exclusive customs of inheritance.   Thus we are also from this side compelled to say that the Levirate idea did not belong originally to the story and formed, therefore, no part of the Geʾullâh according to the author of the book.[10]

[9] The inheritance would have to be divided among the children of both wives.

[10] Compare also my article on "Zur Litterarkritik des Buches Ruth" in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1903, Heft 3.

A NEW INSCRIPTION OF INE-SIN, KING OF UR.

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There has lately come into my possession a Babylonian seal-cylinder of some historical interest. It is of black serpentine, and belongs to the general type of the period of the kings of Ur. It is 24 mm. in length by 13 mm. in diameter. The design upon it is a not infrequent one, the conventional seated bearded god, who may represent any one of several deities, perhaps here Sin, the Moon-god. He holds a vase in his hand, and above it is the circular emblem of the sun within the crescent of the moon. Some writers have spoken of this combination as representing the old moon within the new; but this is impossible, as the peculiar emblem of the sun is here, as often, drawn, the rays alternating with streams, as in the case of the large disk of the sun from the temple of Šamaš at Abu-Habba. A flounced goddess leads the worshiper to the seated god. There remains one other emblem, the scorpion. But the important thing about this cylinder is the inscription. It is in two columns of three lines each, two of the three in the first column being double. This inscription is as follows:
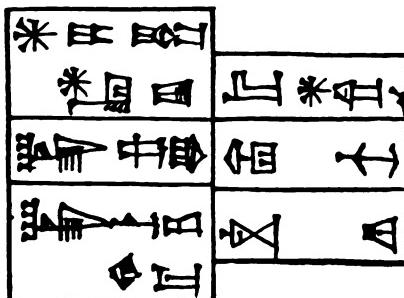
(dingir) I-ne	
(dingir) En-zu	Amel (dingir) Sak-kud
lugal lig-ga	Dura-sir
lugal Uru-unu	
ki-ma	Nitaḫšu
Ine-Sin	Servant of Adar
King Mighty	Dura-sir
King of Ur	his servant
(and)	

The reading and translation are vouched for by Professor Ira M. Price.

We have, then, the record that the owner of the seal was the servant of Ine-Sin, King of Ur. Now Ine-Sin's name has not previously been found on a cylinder, and indeed it was not known until it was discovered by Thureau-Dangin on a tablet dated in the accession year of Ine-Sin (*Rev. d'Assyr.*, III, 1895, p. 144). Two years later the same French scholar published two other records of Ine-Sin (*ibid.*, IV, Pl. XXXI) found by him on the impressions of seal cylinders on case tablets. They are trans- literated by Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, p. 241, and are thus translated :

Ine-Sin
King Mighty,
King of Ur
(fourth line broken, doubtless
"King of the four regions).

This is followed in the second column with the name of the "scribe" (dupsar), and of the scribe's father. The other seal impression is precisely the same except that the fourth line is preserved, "King of the four regions," and instead of the scribe's name, we have the name of the king's "servant" (nitaḫ-šu).

The cylinder in my possession described above is the only original yet recovered that bears the name of Ine-Sin, King of Ur. It adds a fourth record to those given by M. Thureau- Dangin. But it will be observed that the title given to Ine-Sin is different from that in the two impressions of cylinders pub- lished by the French scholar in that the designation of him as "King of the four regions" is omitted. This may not seem of any importance, and may be merely a case of abridgment, such as M. Thureau-Dangin believes a similar omission to be in the

titles of other kings of Ur.   But Mr. Radau, in his *Early Babylonian History*, pp. 238 *sq.*, insists that a difference in the title implies a different king of the same name, and thus he makes four dynasties of Ur, or five, where Winckler and others make but two, and he gives us three Dungis, and two Ur-Gurs, and two Bur-Sins.   Ine-Sin is the last king of his fourth dynasty, all of whom, he says, are always called "King of the four regions," indicating a supremacy greater than would be indicated by the simple title ("Mighty king, King of Ur"), or even than "King of Sumer and Akkad."   But here we have Ine-Sin designated simply as "Mighty king, King of Ur," which on Radau's rule would compel us to separate him from Ine-Sin, "King of the four regions," and put him in the third dynasty, under the designation of Ine-Sin *I.*, while the Ine-Sin of Thureau-Dangin's seal impressions will become Ine-Sin *II*.   It appears to me that the difference in the titles is hardly a sufficient evidence of different kings of the same name.

IS THE DIVINE NAME IN HEBREW EVER EQUIVA-
LENT TO THE SUPERLATIVE?

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This investigation was suggested by an article in the *Revue biblique*, October, 1901, entitled "Le nom divin est-il intensif en Hébreu?" The author (M. Prat) of this paper sums up his argument by saying, that there is not a single certain example of the use of the divine name as an augmentative or superlative, and that it never forms an epithet, but is simply an objective or possessive genitive in every instance. In these conclusions the views of most of the leading grammarians and lexicographers are antagonized. Davidson[1] maintains that "a kind of superlative sense is given to a word by connecting it with the divine name. Probably the idea was that God *originated* the thing (as Arabic), or that it belonged to Him and was therefore extraordinary." König[2] takes the same position. According to him the superlative degree is expressed "durch Charakteristik einer Erscheinung als einer dem Urtheile der Gottheit entsprechenden, oder zu ihr in *specieller Beziehung* stehenden (von ihr begründet, etc.)." The principal Hebrew lexicons[3] in discussing the words אֵל and אֱלֹהִים advocate the same position as these grammarians. Green[4] takes the opposite view as follows: "But in all such cases there is a direct reference to the divine Being, גִּבּוֹר צַיִד לִפְנֵי יהוה Gen. 10:9 is not merely *a very valiant hunter*, one so to speak on a superhuman scale or in the divine estimation, but with the superadded thought of attracting the notice and displeasure of Jehovah."[5]

Are all these authorities on the Hebrew language guilty of inconsistency in their interpretation, and do they select the

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[1] Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*, p. 49.

[2] König, *Syntax der heb. Sprache*, pp. 316 sqq.

[3] Gesenius, *Thesaurus*; Fürst, Buhl; and the *Oxford Lexicon*, אֵל, 5.

[4] Green, *Hebrew Grammar*, p. 296.

[5] The grammars of Ewald, Harper, and Gesenius-Kautzsch, and the lexicon of Siegfried and Stade do not touch this point of syntax.

examples in support of this rule somewhat at haphazard as the writer in the *Revue biblique* thinks, or do the facts of the language, a reasonable exegesis and comparative grammar support the view that the divine name has the force of a superlative at times? These questions can be satisfactorily answered, only after a careful consideration of the various passages adduced to support this rule of syntax. Now let us pass them in review with this grammatical principle in view.

1. In Gen. 10:9 (Kön., Dav.) of Nimrod it was said גבור ציד לפני יהוה. Usage determines the exact meaning of the phrase לפני יהוה; it frequently signifies "in the presence of Yahweh," as in Gen. 27:7; Exod. 27:21, but here this is palpably not the meaning of the phrase. Elsewhere, as in Josh. 6:26 and Ps. 19:15, it is equivalent to "in the estimation of Yahweh," which exactly suits the context. The implication is that, if Nimrod was a mighty hunter in the opinion of Yahweh, how much greater would he be in the estimation of men. There is certainly an idea of supereminence in the use of the divine name in this connection. There is not the slightest tinge of disapproval or displeasure, as Green would have us believe.

2. Gen. 13:13 (Kön.), רעים וחטאים ליהוה מאד. The use of the divine name seems to be redundant in this verse, as sinners in the view of the writer would be those who had transgressed the laws of Yahweh. And yet it is to be remembered that pleonasm is not uncommon in Hebrew. On the other hand, as the מאד by itself gives a superlative idea, Yahweh may have been mentioned because of the very abrupt introduction of the subject.

3. Jon. 3:3 (Buhl, Dav., Kön.), עיר גדולה לאלהים. What has been said of (1) holds good of this passage. An Arabic idiom throws some light on this use of the divine name with preposition ל prefixed. In Arabic we find such phrases as لِلَّهِ فُلَانٌ, لِلَّهِ ٱلْقَائِلُ, لِلَّهِ دَرُّهُ which mean how excellent is his deed, how good or beautiful the saying of the sayer, etc. The Arabic idiom makes a corresponding usage in Hebrew at least possible. In the use of the divine name in the three passages just considered, there is certainly no contrast between God's estimation and man's view in the sense maintained by M.

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[6] Lane, *Arab. Lex.*, Vol. I, p. 83.

Prat:[1] "c'est l'avoir réellement et non seulement pour les hommes, qui sont dupes des apparences, mais pour celui-la même qui sonde les reins et les cœurs."

4. Gen. 23:6 (Kön.), נשׂיא אלהים אתה. Dillmann interprets this correctly as "ausgezeichneter, herrlicher Fürst." The LXX βασιλεὺς παρὰ θεοῦ has missed the exact meaning, for the sons of Heth did not make their hospitable offer to Abraham because they recognized him as a prince especially appointed by God, but rather as a man possessing princely qualities in an extraordinary degree.

5. Gen. 30:8 (Kön., Ges.), נפתולי אלהים. This may be interpreted in two ways. It may mean that Rachael had wrestled with her sister in a severe and mighty conflict, or that she had wrestled with God for grace and blessing that she might prevail against her sister. Consequently it is too ambiguous to be cited in support of a grammatical principle.

6. 1 Sam. 14:15 (Kön., Dav.), ותהי לחרדת אלהים. The context makes it clear, that the divine name is used in more than a mere superlative sense. Jonathan and his armor-bearer perform a deed of valor, which is followed by a panic heightened by an earthquake. Hence the fear and rout of the Philistines was due directly to supernatural intervention. The R. V. "an exceeding great trembling" scarcely gives the force of the original; the LXX καὶ ἐγενήθη ἔκστασις παρὰ κύριον is better. The fear and trembling that fell on the Philistines was not simply a very great one, but it was sent directly by God. Gesenius refers to Gen. 35:5 ויהי חתת אלהים in support of the principle under discussion. This fear is also supernatural; cf. 2 Chron. 20:29; Zach. 14:13.

7. 1 Sam. 26:12 (Dav., Kön.), תרדמת יהוה. This genitive is clearly subjective, denoting the origin or source of the sleep. The narrative indicates that it was due to the direct intervention of Yahweh that the deep sleep fell on Saul. If there is any superlative idea, it is in the word תרדמת itself.

8. Isa. 14:13 (Buhl, *Oxford Lex.*), ממעל לכוכבי אל ארים כסאי. In this connection there would be no reason for bringing out the creative power of El as shown in his creation of the stars, but it is in point to emphasize the extreme loftiness of the stars where El is enthroned. The arrogance of the king of Babylon prompts him to raise his throne to the same soaring height.

[1] *RB.*, Vol. X, p. 496.

9. Jer. 2:31 (Kön.), מַאְפֵּלְיָה. This word has often been regarded as a theophorous compound, but König himself considers this extremely doubtful. It may be pointed as an adjective, מַאְפֵּלְיָה (Stade),[2] and hence it cannot be cited in support of a rule of syntax.

10. Mal. 2:15 (Kön.), מְבַקֵּשׁ זֶרַע אֱלֹהִים. This is a passage too obscure to be made the basis of an induction. The expression "a godly seed" may either express the divine purpose of marriage or be a designation of Isaac. The אֱלֹהִים is a genitive of quality, but cannot be equivalent to a superlative.

There are several passages in which such expressions as "mountains or mountain of God," "tree or cedars of God" occur. No discriminating exegesis will deny, that the term "mountain of God" applied to Horeb has no possible reference to its altitude, or that "the tree of God" might have reference to the belief in an indwelling *numen*. Nevertheless it remains true that in poetry we must allow for some play of the poet's imagination, without extracting philosophical theories and comparative religions from his imagery. It is necessary to keep this principle in view in considering the following passages from the Psalms:

Ps. 36:7 (Ges., Dav., Kön., Buhl, *Oxford Lex.*), צִדְקָתְךָ כְּהַרְרֵי אֵל. The force of this comparison is very apparent, when we regard "mountains of El" as a poetic figure, expressing the supereminent stability of the righteousness of Yahweh. The exegesis of the writer in the *Revue biblique* seems forced. According to him such expressions, where the theory of an ancient sanctuary will not answer, are equivalent to saying that the vegetation on the mountains is primeval, the direct product of God's hands without the intervention of man at all. If such an interpretation be adopted, the comparison in this verse is meaningless.

11. It is not quite so clear in Ps. 68:16 (Buhl, Dav., Ges.) why the Mountains of Bashan are termed הַר אֱלֹהִים. Delitzsch thinks it was probably the basaltic and volcanic nature of the rocks that gained them this title, because such rocks produced the impression of antiquity and invincibility. They were, as compared with the softer limestone rock of western Palestine, the symbol of the world and its powers threatening the people of God. All this is a little doubtful; and it is simpler, at least,

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[2] Stade, *Lehrbuch der heb. Grammatik*, § 302b.

to identify these mountains with Hermon,[9] which could be well termed the mountain of God because of sanctuaries located on it. At best the allusion is too obscure to be cited in support of a rule of syntax.

12. Ps. 80:11 (Buhl, Dav., Ges., Kön., *Oxford Lex.*), וְעֲנָפֶיהָ אַרְזֵי אֵל; Ps. 104:16 (Dav., Ges., Kön.), יִשְׂבְּעוּ עֲצֵי יְהוָה . In the latter passage there is no doubt that the expression "trees of Yahweh" is equivalent to trees planted by Yahweh, for the second member of the parallelism runs אַרְזֵי לְבָנוֹן אֲשֶׁר נָטָע . In the former case it is more plausible to regard the entire phrase as expressing the height to which the branches of the vine attain, but the two words אַרְזֵי אֵל might just as reasonably be interpreted as setting forth the idea, that they were the products of El's creative energy without the slightest reference to a superlative idea.

13. Ps. 45:7 (Kön.), כִּסְאֲךָ אֱלֹהִים עוֹלָם וָעֶד . König no doubt follows those who insert כִּסֵּא in constructive state before *Elohim*, translating "Thy throne is a throne of *Elohim*." A throne like that of God, which would necessarily be supereminent in its magnificence, grandeur, and pomp.

Job 1:16 (Buhl, Ges.), אֵשׁ אֱלֹהִים נָפְלָה מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם . Although "the fire of God" has been variously interpreted, yet a reasonable exegesis will recognize that here nothing more than a thunderbolt is referred to.

Cant. 8:6 (Kön., Dav.), רִשְׁפֶיהָ רִשְׁפֵּי אֵשׁ [10] שַׁלְהֶבֶתְיָה . Hitzig[11] inserts a word and emends as follows: שַׁלְהָבֶיהָ שַׁלְהֲבוֹתֶיהָ , and then interprets "Love's flames are flames of Yahweh," *i. e.*, they are kindled by him and are in consequence independent of our lower nature. It is forced exegesis to suppose with Prat that in רִשְׁפֵּי אֵשׁ the writer had any thought of the Phœnician god Rešeph, the hurler of lightning, with which Yahweh is parallel in the next clause. According to this the flames of Jehovah would be lightnings and thunderbolts. This is entirely too ingenious to be probable. One must take either the interpretation of Hitzig given above or follow the R. V. (margin), "a most violent flame."

In two passages, 2 Sam. 23:20;[12] 1 Chron. 11:22 (Kön.), we find הוּא הִכָּה אֶת שְׁנֵי אֲרִיאֵל מוֹאָב . The LXX reading is original

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[9] Baethgen, *Psalmen*, H. K. z. A. T., and Kirkpatrick, *The Psalms, ad loc.*

[10] Some write יָהּ separately.

[11] Hitzig, *Das Hohe Lied* ("Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch z. A. T.").

[12] LXX τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς Ἀριὴλ τοῦ Μωάβ.

and the text is to be emended accordingly את שני בני אריאל.
Then Ariel is a proper name occurring also in Isa. 29:1, where
Jerusalem is addressed as Ariel. A summary dismission of the
subject by saying, that in theophorous nouns the relation between
the two parts is always that of subject and predicate, may not
pass unchallenged. Olshausen[13] gives a long list of proper
names in which the second noun is genitive. The force of the
compound may be best arrived at through Is. 29:1, when Jeru-
salem is addressed as אריאל *i. e.*, a city not only lion-like[14] in
strength, but endowed with power that is divinely potent. Hence
in these two passages Ariel is the name of some Moabitish
warrior noted for his great deeds of prowess.

1 Chron. 12:22 (Dav., Kön.), כמחנה אלהים. The context
informs us that new recruits joined David's army daily, so that
he called it the camp of God, as Jacob termed the angels that met
him on his return from Mesopotamia. In the latter case, it was
no doubt the character of the members of the camp that deter-
mined the name. They were superhuman beings. In this pas-
sage the divine name emphasizes the large numbers of the army,
because the host of God is numerous in whatever sense it is
taken. The expression is certainly superlative in this passage
of Chronicles.

Before summing up the results of this study, a word as to
comparative grammar is in point. With the exception of the
Arabic analogy already alluded to, there is no similar construction
in Arabic, Assyrian, or Syriac.[15] Of course this fact does not
make it impossible for Hebrew to possess this idiom.

In conclusion we may sum up the results of our investigation
as follows: Seven passages, Gen. 10:9; Jon. 3:3; Gen. 23:6;
Isa. 14:13; Pss. 36:7; 45:7; 1 Chron. 12:22, upon a reasonable
exegesis support the rule as given by Davidson and König;
six, Gen. 35:5; 1 Sam. 14:15; 1 Sam. 26:12; Pss. 80:11;
104:16; Job 1:16, are more reasonably explained in other
ways; eight, Gen. 13:13; 30:8; Jer. 2:31; Mal. 2:15; Ps.
68:16; Cant. 8:6; 2 Sam. 23:20; 1 Chron. 11:22, are for various

[13] Olshausen, *Lehrbuch. der Heb. Sprache*, p. 611.

[14] Gesenius, Ewald, Cheyne, Dillmann interpret אריאל as lion of God; others,
Delitzsch, Orelli, make it equivalent to הראל, Ezra 43:15 *sq.*; the latter is improbable.

[15] Wilson, *Elements of Syriac Grammar*, p. 122, the superlative is expressed "*perhaps
in a few cases by means of* ܐܠܗܐ." Very uncertain, as found only in Old Testament.
Nöldeke does not mention this usage in his grammar.

reasons too doubtful to be cited in support of a rule of syntax which is otherwise so obscurely indicated. The sweeping statements of M. Prat, given at the opening of this paper, and obviously made in the interests of uniformity, cannot be supported by a judicious exegesis in every instance; while on the other hand, grammarians and lexicographers cite many passages in support of this principle which are not merely doubtful and obscure, but in many cases positively contradict the rule.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH EDITION OF GESENIUS'S HEBREW GRAMMAR.[1]

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In outward appearance this edition differs from its predecessors chiefly in two points : the paradigms, indices, etc., are printed separately in a "Beiheft" (two of the indices are the work of the young Dr. Karl Kautzsch, in Dresden, whose first literary effort, *Das sogenannte Volksbuch von Hiob*, was published in 1900); the number of each page is indicated on the inner top margin, while the figures on the outer margin refer to the paragraphs. On p. vi of the Introduction the reader may find a list of the sections amplified or modified, newly added or omitted.

As Kautzsch (on p. vii of the Introduction) expressly remarks that, in order not to render the innumerable quotations from the grammar in the exegetical literature useless, a radical change in the arrangement has been deemed inadvisable, it may perhaps be proper to indulge the hope that the learned editor will become a convert to the opposite view before he is asked to prepare the twenty-eighth edition, but our criticism of the present edition must in no way be influenced by any opinion upon which that hope rests. From a purely scientific point of view, of course, there may be but one method of arrangement to follow ; the practical purposes, however, which a grammar of the Gesenius type is mainly concerned in subserving, will be reached whether the treatment of the verb precedes that of the noun or follows it, whether the classification of verbal forms has in view the radical or formal character, etc. The teacher in the class-room will, one way or the other, be compelled to adopt his own order ; for he must present the language in its totality, verb and noun, prefix and suffix, word and sentence, in accordance with the exigencies of the verse he selects for grammatical interpretation. The student may be easily taught the peculiar arrangement of a printed

[1] WILHELM GESENIUS' HEBRÄISCHE GRAMMATIK. Völlig umgearbeitet von E. Kautzsch. Sieben und zwanzigste, vielfach verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig: *F. C. W. Vogel*, 1902. xii + 591 pp.

grammar, exactly as he learns to understand the system of the lexicon he uses. Kautzsch furthermore avers that he has been willing to learn from others, even when the instruction was offered in an unnecessarily rude and offending manner. Now, the present reviewer entertains the profoundest respect for the Halle grammarian; nor does he consider himself competent to offer him any instruction. Nevertheless, the writer is constrained by a sense of devotion to the subject to point out in all politeness whatever in his judgment needs modification or improvement. I append the following footnotes:

§ 8*i*: The *scriptio plena* (see under letters *k* and *l*) in our present texts is more or less arbitrary. That is to say, the process of the introduction of vowel letters was suddenly arrested with the definitive constitution of the *ktīb*. See, by the way, Bardowicz, *Studien z. Geschichte d. Orthographie im Althebräischen*, 1894. The punctuation proceeds on the principle that the *scriptio plena* should (on the margin, so to say: a *ḳrē perpetuum!*) be introduced wherever it of right belongs. The point in קֹל properly belongs to the vowel-letter (קוֹל) which the punctuator has in mind.

§ 9*u* fin.: הַלְאָה is a misprint for הָלְאָה.

v: Baer prints לְמָשְׁחָךְ. See his note (on p. 100). Kimḥi's words in the Lexicon (*s. v.* מָשַׁח) read: הֹשִׁיר"ן בקמץ רחב והֹחִי"ת בקמץ חטף. The קמץ רחב is to be understood in accordance with Kautzsch's own statement in this section. The latter, I gladly concede, is a marked improvement upon the corresponding section in the previous edition. The קמץ רחב represents *â* for *o* in *opened* (see below) syllables; it represents a vowel midway between *o* and *ô*: פָּעֳלוֹ is on the road toward פָּעֳלוֹ.

§ 10*d*: שׁוא *medium* and the corresponding *loosely closed syllable* (§ 26*c*) should be given up: Sievers, *Studien z. hebr. Metrik*, I, §§ 5. 2, 211, 212, 218. I am ready to follow Sievers (*ibid.*, §§ 213, 220) in giving up the "vocal" שׁוא in דִּבְּרוּ, וַיְהִי דְבַר. I have not much faith in the "vocal" שׁוא altogether. But as this is rank heresy, I shall reserve the proof for another occasion. See below *ad* § 16*i* and *ad* § 26.

P. 48, footnote 1: Levias's derivation of שׁבא from שֶׁבֶר (*American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XVI (1895), pp. 28–37; the word שֶׁבֶר has been rediscovered by the present writer in the corrupt שׁוּבָה Isa. 30:15; see Cheyne's Isaiah, *SBOT.*, 1899, p. 103, l. 24) by all means deserves to be accepted (see Haupt, "The Names of the Hebrew Vowels," *JAOS.*, Vol. XXII (1901), pp. 13–17; especially p. 17).

§ 16*d*: I question whether the function of the מֶתֶג in these cases is to indicate the place of the secondary accent. The מֶתֶג is perhaps a

simple mark of caution = *sic.* Its place is in syllables in which the vowel protected by the מֶתֶג properly has no place in accordance with the table which we subjoin below, *ad* § 27.

f: The מֶתֶג in תְּחִיָּה, יְהִיֶה does not serve the purpose of emphasizing the "silent" שְׁוָא ("zur schärferen Hervorhebung desselben"), but again merely says: *So, i. e.,* ⸱⸱ , not ⸱ !

i: It is gratifying to see that Kautzsch's attitude toward the Jewish grammarians and their exponent Baer with reference to the "silent" שְׁוָא in אָכְלָה, etc., has become "minder schroff." He evidently would hesitate to join with Stade (*Grammar*, p. 54, footnote) in his lament : "Leider hat sich Baer von der traditionellen Vorstellung der hebräischen Grammatiker von der Silbe und dem שְׁוָא *mobile* nicht emancipirt." Baer's arguments, תּוֹרַת אֱמֶת, p. 9, footnote 2, are incontrovertible. This simply means that the authors of the accentuation spoke *'âḵlâ (h)*. In pre-punctuation times no doubt the intermediate vowel was sounded in the context as well as in pause; just in what exact quantity or quality may be a matter of dispute. But the pronunciation *'ăkəlâ(h)* was not recognized by the accentuation and therefore not intended by the punctuation. It all depends what pronunciation of Hebrew our grammars are aiming at teaching, that of Isaiah, of which they know next to nothing, or that of the נַקְדָּנִים. If that of the latter, then their word, which speaks through their system (in this case so well set forth by Baer), must be law. "Sprachwissenschaftlich erschlossene" and "traditionelle Formen irgend einer geschichtlichen Periode" must not be confounded. See above *ad* § 10d.

§ 17a : קְרִי is properly the reading of the written text, vocalization and accentuation. בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים is כְּתִיב or מְסוֹרֶת, מְסוֹרֶת, מִקְרָא (the terms מִקְרָא, מִקְרָא or קְרִי—בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים *Sanhedr.* 4a and the parallel passages; notice שְׁבוּעַיִם קָרִינַן וְיֵשׁ אִם לַמִּקְרָא). In normal cases, *i. e.,* where the reader follows the consonants of the text, no note is called for. Otherwise, the consonants which are to guide the reader are placed on the margin. See above *ad* § 8i.

§ 19a : What Kautzsch calls "die Verwechselung des ת mit ט" (one is reminded of the אוֹתִיּוֹת מִתְחַלְּפוֹת of the mediæval grammars) Sievers (*Phonetik*, fifth edition, 1901, § 751) calls "partielle Assimilation" (so Brugmann, *Kurze vergl. Grammat. d. idg. Sprachen*, 1902, § 19, 5; Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, I, 1 (1900), p. 427, speaks of "Kontaktwirkung, die in einer bloss partiellen Angleichung, in einer Annäherung der Artikulation des vorangehenden an den nachfolgenden induzierenden Laut, besteht;" he quotes as examples *angnus* for *agnus, empfangen* for *entfangen, ἐμβάλλω* for *ἐνβάλλω*; König, II, p. 469, expresses himself with a correctness which leaves nothing to be desired just with reference to הִצְטַדָּק : "Anähnlichung zeigt sich im Anteilnehmenlassen von Dentalen am Stärkegrade des benachbarten Dentalen"). As this is our first remark in the chapter dealing with phonetic modifications, we may be permitted to express our regret right here that Haupt's

animadversions at the opening of the above-mentioned article ("The Names of the Hebrew Vowels," *JAOS.*, Vol. XXII (1901), p. 13) still hold good with reference to the present edition and that the "Lautlehre" is the weakest part therein. (*Cf.* also Haupt, *BSS.*, I (1890), p. 249.)

bcd: The examples, especially under the letter *d*, are mechanically thrown together. The "assimilation" of *d* to *t* in אֶחָד should not be placed on a level with that of *l* to *ḳ* in יִקַּח or with that of the nasal *n* (letter *c*). In the latter cases we have "Ausgleichung der Artikulations-stelle," while in the case of אֶחָד we are dealing with "Ausgleich in der Artikulationsart." The example for the latter in Greek is "hom. ὅττι 'was' aus *σϝόδ τι" (Brugmann, *Kurze vergl. Gramm.*, p. 227).

e: I doubt Kautzsch's derivation of אַנָּא from אָֽנָּה־נָא. The "doubling" seems to be of the same kind as in שִׁמְּרָה (§ 20*k*).

h: דַּע, קַח, גַּשׁ, are no examples of *aphaeresis*, if by the latter Kautzsch means a psycho-physiological process, not merely the absence of a *letter* in front. The imperative being the prefixless "apocopatus," the forms mentioned are direct descendants of יִגַּשׁ, יִקַּח, יֵדַע. The "Sprachgefühl" feels in יִגַּשׁ no more than the prefix + גַּשׁ. [See now Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen*, 1902, p. 3.]

l: The loss of the א in וַיִּרָא is not exactly apocope. The immediate predecessor of (וַ)יִּרָא is יִֽ. Hebrew, as elsewhere, drops the final vowel.

§ 20*b:* שֹׁדְדוּ and שֹׁדְדָם are "Pō'ōl" forms (see Ḳimḥī *ad* Jer. 5:6; Lexicon, *s. v.;* Miklōl, ed. Rittenberg, p. 132*a;* note the commentator's remark below: וּנתחלת החולם מן ישודד לק״ח כדרך החולם מַלְוֹשִׁנִי Ps.; *cf., e. g.,* לֹהשתנות לק״ח כשנתרב[ת]ה המלה בתנועות 101:5 (by no means "ohne ersichtlichen Grund," as Kautzsch thinks, §55*b*); a similar example is וּגְדָל־ Nah. 1:3 and elsewhere quoted on p. 230, footnote; the מַדְנְחָאֵי, by the way, have יְשׁוֹדְדָם in their text, while יְשֹׁדְדָם is with them a marginal reading, see Baer, p. 119).

§ 21*f:* For "eig." read: "ursprünglich."

g: Similarly וַיִּרְדְּ which is correctly explained, p. 91, footnote 4.

§ 22*m* fin.: *Cf.* Syriac ‎ܡܕ (Duval, pp. 125 *sqq.;* Merx., *Grammat. syriaca*, pp. 76 *sqq.*, and the writer's "Notes on Semitic Grammar II" in this JOURNAL, Vol. XII (1896), p. 207). I should transcribe and pronounce i aʼ|ʼ[a]m|ḏ ū·.

§ 23*a:* Read for the altogether impossible מְצָאֲנִי at least מְצָאֻנִי.

d: Dele "יֵאָכֵל f.". It is not permissible to use the symbols of the punctuation for pre-punctuation pronunciation. The steps are יֻֽ, i ā-, יֵֽא.

ef: On רֵים, etc., *cf.* Haupt, "Crit. Notes on Proverbs," *SBOT.*, p. 34, l. 44 *sqq.;* "Notes on Isaiah," *ibid.*, p. 88, ll. 39 *sq.;* in the latter passage Haupt makes reference to his paper, "The Assyrian E-vowel,"

p. 19. I regret that, while writing my paper in this JOURNAL, Vol. XII (1896), especially the last three lines on p. 225, I had no knowledge of Professor Haupt's publication just referred to which I have since read in the *American Journal of Philology;* so much the more gratifying it is that we met in our conclusions, although proceeding by different roads; it may be well to add that Sievers (*loc. cit.*, p. 280, n. 2) arrives at the same conclusion on entirely new grounds. In view of this remarkable unanimity, Kautzsch's repudiation of Haupt's readings (on p. 267, footnote) will hardly carry conviction.

P. 78, footnote 2: In עֲמָדְיָאֵל, etc., the ה is an orthographic device and is not on a level with the consonantal ה spoken of in the text.

§ 23*k*: בֶּם is parallel to בְּרָם, but not made from it; its lineal predecessor is בְּמוֹ which represents an earlier בְּהֶמוֹ; *cf.* כָּלְהֵנָה (in pause!) quoted in § 91*f*. The immediate predecessor of בֶּם is בֶּרָם with suppression of the vowelless (hence not "samt seinem Vokal") ה. The form כָּלְהֶם (quoted in the same section) becomes now intelligible; it is on a line with וּבְצֶעַם (see below *ad* § 61*g*) and presupposes כָּלְהֶם and the longer form כָּלְהֵמוֹ.

§ 24*b*: We miss here as elsewhere in the book an insight into what Georg Curtius long ago called "Sprachchronologie oder chronologische Sprachbetrachtung" (see his *Zur Chronologie d. idg. Sprachforschung, Abhandll. d. philol.-hist. Classe d. Kgl. Sächs. Gessell. d. Wissensch.*, Vol. V (1867), pp. 187–261). Thus הָשַׁב dates from primitive times; it is "urhebräisch" (*huu̯šab was indeed at no time pronounceable and should therefore not be written in Hebrew characters). On the other hand, עִבְרִי (immediate predecessor ʻibriĭa) and עָמָךְ (immediate predecessor ʻau̯ṣa, *cf.* عَلَكَ; see this JOURNAL, Vol. XII (1896), p. 227) are recent forms.

d: I fail to see how בֶּכֶה should be derived from bakį; on פְּרִי see this JOURNAL, Vol. XII (1896), pp. 226 *sq.*

g: The process is not quite so simple. -aį becomes â which is then shortened to a; ־ â is midway between the two.

§ 25*b* fin.: I agree with Kautzsch (against Sievers).

c: The section may well be omitted.

d: As "geschärfte Silben" are but a species of "geschlossene Silben," the order should be reversed.

e: That is to say, in opened syllables (see below).

§ 26*c*: To be omitted.

P. 83, footnotes: Kautzsch's reasoning seems to be plausible.

§ 28*f*: Omit "mehr oder weniger scheinbar."

g: "Nach Verschlingung des א im Gegenton" means nothing.

i: For "eig." read: "ursprünglich." Dele "In solchem . . . . Silbe."

P. 85, footnote 2: כָּרֹשׁ does not belong here, but rather to § 26*l*.

§ 26p: As a matter of fact, it is correct; but we miss the proper historical setting.

§ 27: The following table may be found useful as a summary of the entire section which, I regret to say, leaves much to be desired both in clearness of exposition and in scientific insight:

		CLOSED[1]			OPEN[3]			
		UNACCENTED		ACCENTED	UNACCENTED			ACCENTED (or OPENED[7])
		Closed through doubling[2]	Closed by a simple consonant		Near[4]	Distant		
						After other consonants	After א, ה, ח, ע	
u/o		— u (— o)	— o (— u)	— ó	— ó	—	— ŏ	— ó (— o)
i/e		— i (— e)	— e (— i) — a[9]	— ó[5] — a[6]	— ó	—	— ă[10] — ă[11]	— ó (— i)
a		— a	— a	— ắ[5] — a[6] — æ	— ắ	—	— ă	— ắ (— a) (— æ)

The term "opened" was used by the writer in the article "Accents," *Jewish Encylopædia*, Vol. I (see § 3; the MS. left Berkeley February 10, 1900). The table given above was prepared March 9, 1902. Zapletal, *Gramm. linguae hebraicae*, 1902, § 14e, has the term ("*reclusa*"), but he limits it unnecessarily to a special case.

e: Incorrectly worded. קָטְלוּ goes with ḳatal-a-, סוּסָתִי with sūs-a-t-i-. The second part is equally infelicitous. A full discussion of the subject would involve a criticism of §§ 177–180, 184, 229 of Sievers's

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[1] E. g., bag (ג in the middle of a word; ג at the end; but ך).

[2] E. g., baḡa. 　　　　　　　　　　[3] E. g., ba.

[4] I. e., in the syllable immediately preceding the accented syllable. N. B.: Sometimes (especially in the first and second cross-lines) "near" is treated as "distant."

[5] In pause, i. e., where the voice rests in accordance with sense.

[6] In the context, i. e., where we make no stop, but go on to the next word.

[7] A syllable which was closed in primitive Hebrew is often *opened*, e. g., *maṣa'-a, *maṣa', māṣâ'('); *malk-a, malk, mæ·l[e]ḵ; riḥaḳ-, riḥaḳ·. Frequently the primitive vowel remains what it was: usually, however, "opened" is on a par with "open accented."

[8] Especially after, sometimes before, ה, ח, ע, notably א.

[9] Especially before ה, ח, ע. The — a which takes the place of a primitive i is called a improper.

[10] After א. 　　　　　　　　　　[11] After ה, ח, ע.

work referred to above. For the present I wish to say this much. יָדֵךְ was postulated in 1836 by Luzzatto in his *Prolegomeni*, p. 126 *sq.* That יָדֵךְ is a late form, may be proved from the fact that פִּיךָ is an impossible form, while to פִּיכֶם correctly corresponds יֶדְכֶם. Which goes to show that יָדֵךְ is the normal form. Because יָדֵךְ is a late form, it retains ֵ in spite of the closed unaccented syllable. The same holds good with reference to the pausal forms in the verb: קָטְלָה is the earlier and normal form, קָטָלָה a late arrival.

l: Incorrectly worded.

q: The following practical observation may not be out of place. ֲ will be found in front of a "guttural" with ֲ , provided we find ֱ (not ֲ !) in front of the same "guttural" when followed by other vowels. Thus, to הָאִישׁ corresponds הָאָדָם ; but to הַאִישׁ (interrogative ה) הַאֱלֹכִי (§ 100*m*). Of course, there are exceptions.

יְחֶזְקֵאל is nothing; either יְחֶזְקֵאל (יְחֶזְקֵאל), or יְחֶזְקֵאל . Of course, it is the latter from which the name is derived.

s: See Lagarde, *Übersicht*, p. 152, footnote. As for יַלְדְתִךְ , *cf.* § 44*d* and Syriac ܝܠܕܬܟ .

t: בְּגָדֵי , דִּבְרֵי and the like go back to the plural base bigād-, etc. (broken plural of the type فِعَال ; plural of the plural, Wright-de Goeje, Vol. I, pp. 231 *sq.*; Barth's law of compensation).

w: רִאשׁוֹן = רָאשׁוֹן Job 8:8 = רֵאשׁוֹן (*cf.* the kt̲īb̲, *ibid.*, 15:7) = וֹן + רִאשׁ . רִאשׁ is رَئِيس . The فَعِيل form is the basis of the other ordinals from three on; the suffix וֹן is pleonastic (see the writer's "Pleonastic Formative Elements in the Semitic Languages," *Proc. of the Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, Vol. XXXI (1900), p. lix). فَاعِل and فَعِيل (hence ثَانِي , etc.) and فَعَال (hence Ethiop. ሣልስ , again with pleonastic suffix) are cognate types. Similarily חִיצוֹן and תִּיכוֹן go back to חִיץ and תֶּךְ , فَعِيل forms. On the other hand, I cannot agree with Levias (this JOURNAL, Vol. XIX (1902), p. 63) in deriving שִׁירִים from שָׁאִירִים . שִׁיר is *deflected* from שָׁיר ('Ab̲ot̲ i. 2) (see this JOURNAL, Vol. XII (1896), pp. 215 *sqq.*).

§ 28*a:* בְּירוּדָה is bih-; י was sounded i.

b: Not true. וְאַנִי is earlier than וְאָנִי .

§ 30*f:* I agree with Kautzsch.

g–o should be considerably reduced.

§ 32*l:* The reason for the peculiar orthography הִוא in the Pentateuch is to be found in the hesitation to fix the gender, which in many cases, indeed, cannot be definitely ascertained. See, *e. g.*, Lev., chap. 13.

§ 35*l:* אֲרֹן only 2 Kings 12:10 = 2 Chron. 24:8 before אֲרוֹן . אֲרוֹן is the traditional reading, which is undoubtedly correct.

§ 40 fin.: Would not the following table (prepared March 9, 1902) be of greater service (concrete stem; the place of the accent indicated; the vowels in the table are those which are constant)?

b.	a.	b.	a.
אקדֵּשׁ , אקדְּשָׁה	אגלֶה , אגל	קדֵּשְׁתִּי	בלִּיתִי , בלִּיתִי
נקדֵּשׁ , נקדְּשָׁה	נגלֶה , נגל	קדֵּשְׁנוּ	בלִּינוּ
תקדֵּשׁ , תקדְּשָׁה	תגלֶה , תגל	קדֵּשְׁתָּ	בלִּיתָ , בלִּית
תקדְּשִׁי	תגלִי	קדֵּשְׁתְּ	בלִּית , בלִּית
תקדְּשׁוּ	תגלוּ	קדְּשׁתֶּם	בלִּיתֶם , בלִּיתֶם
תקדֵּשְׁנָה	תגלֶינָה	קדְּשׁתֶּן	בלִּיתֶן , בלִּיתֶן
יקדֵּשׁ , יקדְּשָׁה	יגלֶה , יגל	קדֵּשׁ	בלָה
תקדֵּשׁ , תקדְּשָׁה	תגלֶה , תגל	קדְּשָׁה	בלָת , בלָתָה
יקדְּשׁוּ	יגלוּ	קדְּשׁוּ	בלוּ
תקדְּשְׁנָה	תגלֶינָה		

I refrain from adding a few notes which would make the table still more serviceable.

§ 41b: R. נֶבֶשׁ (misprint).

§ 44 needs re-writing.

P. 118, footnote 2: All wrong. فَعَلَ verbs and فَعَل adjectives have nothing to do with each other. Starting with ሐፈሰ f. ሐፈሰ (Praetorius, *Aethiop. Grammat.*, § 104), it is easy to see that קְרוֹבָה represents the feminine type فَعَال plus a pleonastic suffix (see the paper "Pleonastic Formative Elements" referred to above). Applying Barth's law of compensation, we obtain forms like חֲדָשָׁה. חָדָשׁ , קָרוֹב are "Rück-bildungen" from קְרוֹבָה , חֲדָשָׁה. Hence فَعَل فَعَال adjectives have often in one or the other of the Semitic languages فَعَل فَعِيل parallels: cf., e. g., קָרוֹב by the side of قَرِيب. Hence فَعَل فَعَال adjectives always go with فَعَلَ verbs—a fact which may easily be verified. فَعَلَ فَعَل verbs are indeed nothing but adjective + pronoun; فَعَلَ verbs, on the other hand, seem to have been made after the already existing pattern of فَعَلَ فَعَل verbs and not through the combination of adjective and pronoun. I tell my students that, in nine cases out of ten, فَعَلَ is the form of the verb wherever no adjective is possible, the English rendering of the abstract root being the guide. Contrast ישׁב, עמד , שׁחר with צדק, "sit," "stand," with "black," "righteous."

§ 44c: Add at the end: But קָמַל Isa. 33:4.

§ 46 should follow § 48h.

§ 46d : I should not repudiate the theory as "unhaltbar."

§ 48d : The form 1 Sam. 28:15 is doubly irregular. One should expect רָאָה‎ .—Ad Ezek. 23:30 cf. Cornill.—Ad Job 11:17: Probably a nominal form was intended by the writer (see the commentaries).

f : See Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, Vol. I, 1, pp. 305–8.

g : See this Journal, Vol. XIX (1902), p. 46, footnote 4.

§ 49d : See reference to Brugmann, *ibid*.

§ 58a : The following table (prepared March 9, 1902) will serve as a convenient summary of this section as well as of § 91:

	b.		*a.*
	מֹרַאִי , תֹרַאֲנֵ , עָנֵנִי		פִּי , הֹשׁקִינִי
	מֹרַאֲנוּ , ־אֵנוּ , ־נֵוּ		פִּינוּ
	מֹרַאֲךָ , ־אֶךָ , ־ךָ , ־ךָ		פִּיךָ
	מֹרַאֲךָ , ־אֵךְ		פִּיךְ
	מֹרַאֵיכֶם		פִּיכֶם
			פִּיכֶן , etc.
	מֹרַאִי(־) , מֹרַאָה(־)		פִּי , פֶּי
	מֹרַאֵ(י)הוּ , ־אֹה , ־אָה , מֹרַאֵהוּ		פִּיהוּ , פֶּיו
	מֹרַאֵ(י)הָ , ־הָ , ־יהָ		פִּיהָ
	מֹרַאֵיהֶם , ־אָם , ־הָם		פִּיהֶם , הֹשׁקִים
			פִּיהֶן , etc.

	d.		*c.*
	יָדִי , נתנֵנִי		אֹהֹבְתַנִי
	יָדֵנוּ , כֻּלָּנוּ , נתנֵנוּ		אֹהֹבְתָנוּ
	יָדְךָ , כֻּלְךָ , נתנֶךָ , ־ךָ		אֹהֹבְתַךְ
	יָדֵךְ , כֻּלֵךְ		אֹהֹבְתֵךְ
	יָדְכֶם , עֹמְכֶם		מִכֶּם
	יָד(־) לֹ , לֹ		מִ־ , מֹן
	יָדוֹ		אֹהֹבְתַהוּ , ־תוּ
	יָדָהּ		אֹהֹבְתָה
	יָדָם		מֹדָם , אֹהֹבְתָם

I again refrain from adding a few notes, especially as they take in some other matters not belonging to the sections under consideration.

§ 60f : See this Journal, Vol. XIX (1902), pp. 45–48.

§ 61g : See the paper just referred to. It may be well to state here, although the matter seems so obvious, that we are not concerned with

explaining the ktīb form (this is the function of textual criticism), but solely with the ḳrē. If the latter be meant for an imperative, the form, so far as vowels and accent are concerned, is as authoritative as many another form from the grammar of the ḳrē and is, moreover, both authoritative and normal, if it can be shown that it falls within a larger system of which it is part. עֲנָקַתְמוֹ Ps. 73:6 may be the only example of the third singular feminine with ־מוֹ, but, since ־מוֹ is found elsewhere quite numerously (Stade, *Grammat.*, § 630*abc*), there is no reason to suspect the form. This in answer to the "Zweifel" of a highly competent scholar subjoined to a quite flattering opinion of our effort. See also above *ad* § 23*k* and below *ad* § 65*f*.

§ 63*m*: תֶּאֱהָבוּ is an impossible form. See, moreover, *ad* § 23*ef*.

§ 65*f*: וְיִשְׁעֲכֶם is correct. Another example of the וּבְצָעַם type (see *ad* § 61*g*). Hence: יִשְׁעֲךָ) וְיִשְׁעֲךָ, וְיִשְׁעֵךְ, וְיִשְׁעֵךְ, וְיִשְׁעֲנִי in accordance with the pausal יוֹכָח quoted by Kautzsch!), וְיִשְׁעָם, וְיִשְׁעָהּ, וְיִשְׁעָהוּ, וְיִשְׁעֲכֶם, וְיִשְׁעֲכֶן, וְיִשְׁעָן (see above). The form is particularly interesting as it teaches the place of the accent (see König, I, p. 219). Hence: אֲרוּנִיכֶם, וְרִיעֲנוּכֶם, וְיִפָּדְכֶם, יִשְׂאוּנְכֶם, יְבָרְכֶנְכֶם, אֲהַבְתְּכֶם.

§ 67*a*: I have my doubts yet about the August Müller theory, which I hope to set forth on another occasion.

g: יִדְּמוּ not "allzu sicher;" the "doubling" comes under § 20*i* (*dageš forte affectuosum!*).

h: The reference to § 51*m* is valueless, as the statement there about "the original ־" is absolutely erroneous. See our table above *ad* § 27.

cc: On יִשְׂדְּדָם see our remarks *ad* § 20*b*.

dd: Most of the forms are to be explained as analogical formations. To select one example: נִבְלָה sounds like יִכְלֶה, hence in the context נִבְלָה like יִכְלֶה.—On לְהַפְרְכֶם see this JOURNAL, Vol. XII (1896), pp. 219 *sq*.

§ 68*i*: מֶדְיָן goes with אָדְיָן treated as a אָקִים form.

P. 186, footnote: The ־ naturally has its origin in a primitive i/e (see table *ad* § 27); but it is treated by the language exactly as the ־, ־ and ־ in בָּשׁ, מֵת, קָם. The latter forms are to be explained as having originated on Hebrew ground under the influence (as "Rückbildungen") of בְּשֵׁתָּ, מֵתָּ, קָמְתָּ (for *būš-ta, *mit-ta, *kām-ta *in abstracto!*). Some six years ago I suggested to Professor Haupt that יֵשֵׁב might be compared with Aramaic יְתֵב. I do not remember now whether I meant at that time, to speak the language I use now, that the syllable in front of the stem represents an *opened* syllable; that, in other words, יְתֵב chronologically antecedes and explains יֵשֵׁב. This latter supposition, however, is not necessary: יֵשֵׁב and יְתֵב are parallel forms exactly as דְּבָרִים and בְּמַלִּים; the permanency of the vowel of the prefix and the "doubling" of the first radical serve, each

in its way, to increase the volume of the biconsonantal basis of the imperfect stem.

§ 71 : The ‏י‎ is not assimilated; we have here simply "Aramaic" forms (see our remarks just in front of this note).

P. 206, footnote 1 : We share Kautzsch's view.

§ 75e : See this JOURNAL, Vol. XIX (1902), p. 47, footnote 6.

w: See this JOURNAL, Vol. XII (1896), p. 227.

dd: See this JOURNAL, Vol. XIX (1902), p. 48.

§ 76h : ‏קִיר‎ is not "verschrieben" for ‏קִיאָן‎; read ‏קִיר‎ and cf. ‏פֵּירוֹ‎, ‏פֵּידוֹ‎ .

P. 221, footnote 1 : My paper to which Kautzsch flatteringly refers needs re-writing. Thus I should speak now of -t as the feminine suffix and of the -a which originally precedes it as the masculine suffix (added only to stems closing in a consonant). The main thesis of the paper, however, which states and explains the condition under which the vowel preceding the feminine suffix -t disappears in Hebrew, cannot in my judgment be shaken.

P. 223, footnote 1 : See also Socin, *Diwan aus Centralarabien*, Vol. III (1901), p. 98.

§ 81a : "Derivativa verbalia" is an unfortunate and misleading term in spite of the references to § 30a and § 79a, in spite also of § c.

§ 83d : Kautzsch is a pronounced "Barthianer." While we accept Barth's law of compensation (see above *ad* § 27t; *ad* p. 118, footnote 2) and are by no means blind to the merit of the work on "Nominal-bildung," we cannot subscribe to the principal theory of the book (see this JOURNAL, Vol. XII (1896), p. 216; also above *ad* p. 118, footnote 2). Barth *ex professo* refuses to discuss the question of the priority of noun or verb. It seems to me that this is a fatal error.

§ 84aa : On the whole, Kautzsch's exposition is satisfactory. That ‏מֶלֶךְ‎ is properly a "construct state" form, has been shown in this JOURNAL, Vol. XII (1896), pp. 197 *sqq*. The ‏ָ‎ of ‏מְלָכִים‎, which is not understood by Kautzsch, has been correctly explained by Salter Brooks (*Vestiges of the Broken Plural in Hebrew*, 1883). See above *ad* § 27t.

c: What does "aus ma-ut, za-it" mean?

§ 84b : The title is misleading. Under letters *ei*, *e. g.*, we have derivatives of the intensive stem in all reality.

§ 89a : "Eine durch die Tonverhältnisse bedingte Erscheinung"— quite correct. Which goes to show that the term "construct state" should be given a wider meaning and application. The first word in the combination ‏בְּלֶב־טוֹב‎ Eccl. 9:7 is as much in the "construct state" as the corresponding word in ‏בְּלֶב־יָם‎ Exod. 15:8. I am very well aware of ‏בֶּן־פָּרִיץ‎ Ezek. 18:10 and similar examples. To my thinking, ‏עַם‎ is in the "construct state" in ‏עַם וְעָם‎ Esth. 1:22 as much as in ‏עַם מָרְדְּכִי‎, *ibid.*, 3:6. I even go a step further : ‏וַיִּמְצָאוּ‎ in ‏וַיִּמְצָאוּ‎ ‏לָהֶם‎ Ruth 1:4 is in the "construct state." It may be even said that

the system of accentuation is built up upon this principle which, of course, in its ultimate nature is indeed "syntaktisch-logisch."

§ 91*b*: Read for "vokalisch"—"auf einen langen Vokal" and for "konson."—"ursprünglich auf einen kurzen Vokal auslautende."

c: "Ausserdem vergl. חֶלְבְּהֶן"—in the wrong place; hence add in the table (§ *b*) in the right column by the side of ־ָם: "od. ־ְהֶם ;" the accent, by the way, should be indicated, wherever it falls on the suffix.

d: שָׂדֶה is not "aus sāda[j]hā;" the process is as follows: فَتَى is taken as an accusative case, and the new cases فَتِ , فَتُ are formed. שָׂדֶה presupposes שָׂדْ*.

§ 93*a:* הַרְבוֹת misprint for חָרְבוֹת.

P. 269, footnote: See Sievers, *loc. cit.*, p. 296, footnote.

§ 95*t:* בְּכִית misprint for בְּכִית. The suffixes ־ִית , ־ָת represent "Hebrew" ־ָה , ־ָיה. See this JOURNAL, Vol. XII (1896), pp. 209, 226 *sq.*

§ 96: I explain אִשָּׁה as אִשָּׁה* = أُنْثَى with pleonastic feminine ־ָה. Why is אֵל not mentioned among the "Nomina von eigentümlicher Bildung"?

P. 284, footnote 1: See Salter Brooks, *loc. cit.*, pp. 11 *sq.* The immediate predecessor will have been a form like Modern Arabic ijām (Vollers-Burkitt, p. 114).

P. 287, footnote 1: For "regelrechte" read "hebräisch gebildete."

P. 300, footnote 2: There is no doubt in my mind that the author of Ruth 1:13 wrote הֲלָהֵם.

P. 301, footnote 1: Why not assume a form מָזוֹן*?

I have not read the syntax. Lengthy though this review has turned out, I may say with the high-priest of old (Soṭah 40*b*): יתר ממה שקריתי לפניכם כתוב כאן (כאן = on the margin of my Gesenius).

Critical Notes.

NOTES ON THE CODE OF HAMMURABI.

THE RED ṢÂBÊ.

This official whose title is written MIR-UŠ has been the subject of some speculation. The ideographic form of title is interpreted II R. 24, 58*ab* by ridû ša ṣâbê. It occurs very frequently in the letters of Hammurabi published by King, see Index, p. 290: where a guess "slave-driver" is hazarded. Although the sign MIR is different from that written for nâgiru, both have the common value GIR, and LIGIR is evidently only MIR, with the sign KAŠ inserted. Now KAŠ is an ideogram for girru and ḫarrânu, words used for a military expedition. Further nâgiru and girru are probably related. Hence there is some probability that the nâgiru and ridû ša ṣâbê are closely related officials, if not identical in office: see *ADD.*, II, p. 70.

The ṣâbê are laborers, employed on public works, or militia for military duty. They are not exactly slaves, but were recruited from captives, certain worthless or troublesome slaves, and the pauper classes generally. The status was dreaded, and it is often referred to as a blot on the memory of an oppressor that he reckoned freemen of the great cities to this lot. As laborers they were unskilled and treated almost as beasts of burden, but they were fed and clothed at the royal expense, thus answering to the corporation employés of our great towns, or the men on public works in the colonies. The demand for these laborers on the great buildings of the ancient Babylonian monarchs was enormous, and in every district an official was appointed to superintend and obtain supplies of these ṣâbê. They worked in gangs, as may be seen from the monuments, and the ridû ša ṣâbê was on his civil side a "ganger;" on his military side as in command of enforced military service a "field cornet." In later times, in Assyria, his military representative was the rab kiṣir. See further in *ADD.*, II, p. 125, 170–172. He and the next official were sent on errands for the king, acting as a sort of post, and had the power of impressing men, animals, or ships, for the execution of their duty. But they might not hire a substitute on pain of death and displacement by that substitute; § 26. It is difficult to fix upon an official in modern times whose functions will answer to those described above, but perhaps the old English word "reeve" is near enough to serve as a translation.

The title bâ'iru, usually written ŠÛ-ḪA, is very often used in the sense of "fisherman." The verb is also used of hunting. But the original meaning is "to catch." The bâ'iru here is a "catcher," a press-gang officer. He, like the above, was employed on the king's

service, had to go on the king's errands, and both officers were forbidden, under pain of death, to delegate their duties, once they had received a commission of any sort. One may translate this title, perhaps, by "runner," an old English name for a sort of constable.

These two officials are coupled together, and no distinction is observable between them. They may really be the same official under different names. It appears to be the case that in the code, as in many legal documents, several synonyms, or terms nearly synonymous, are used together, probably with a view to greater comprehensiveness. Their office was officially endowed. Each received a house and land, if not a salary, which went with the office and was inalienable from it. The office was not hereditary, and the officer could not make provision from it for his wife and family. But if he were sent on foreign service, or garrison duty, he might resume his house and field on his return, if his absence did not extend beyond one year. But his house, field, and garden went to his successor in office in the meantime, and permanently, if his absence exceeded three years. His succcessor might be his son, if the son were able to take up the duties; § 28. If the son were too young, one-third of the field and garden was given to the mother to rear the children; § 29. The house evidently went as official residence. If the officer simply goes away and leaves his house and estate uncared for, it shall go to his successor and on his return he will have no claim whatever; § 30. But this only took place if he had been more than one year away; § 31. If he is named for foreign, or garrison duty, a merchant might buy him out; if he had the means to pay the merchant for this good office, he must do so. If the temple of his city had the means, it might do so, if he was too poor. If the temple was too poor, the palace might do so. But his official house, field, and garden might not be used to raise money for the purpose. Clearly the endowment was a "benefice." The whole arrangement is suggestive of a desire to hold down the population by an organized administration.

The officer called P A - P A, who may be the paḫat, or governor of a district, and the officer called N U - T U R seem to have had power over another class of population, the ṣab nisḫatim; § 33. It was an offence punished with death for them to admit a hireling in place of the man nominated for an errand of the kings. They evidently were the superior officers of the redû ša ṣabê and bâ'iru for they might oppress them by taking their goods, robbing them, letting them out on hire, robbing them in a judgment before a judge, or taking away the holding which the king had given them. The penalty for such oppression was death. The ṣâb nisḫatim are clearly the local quota for the levy.

The ridû ša ṣâbê, or bâ'iru, could not alienate the oxen and sheep which the king had given him; § 35. His house, field, and garden could not be given for money; §§ 36, 37, nor could he assign it to his wife or child, § 38, nor pledge it for debt. But he had full power over the property which he had bought himself or acquired; § 39. If in his absence another had enclosed his estate, on his return, he shall take possession and keep his status; § 41. These immunities also applied

to the nâš bilti, or "tributary," whose exact status is otherwise obscure; §§ 36, 37, 38.

There is some reason to hold that when officials are named together in these sections, it is as alternative titles for the same or nearly the same office, but the point cannot be pressed. For the purposes of the code no difference was made between them, but their actual duties and status may have differed greatly.

THE WINE-SELLERS.

According to the code a wine-seller was usually a woman. If a wine merchant has not accepted corn as the price of drink, but has taken silver by the heavy weight, and has made the price of drink less than the price of corn, that wine-seller shall be put to account and thrown into the water; § 108. What the great weights or great stones mean is obscure. The "small stone" abnu ṣiḫru seems to have been a definite weight of one-third of the shekel; II, R. 37, 51gh. The "great stone" may have been two-thirds of the shekel, as the heavy mina was double the light mina. But this does not help much. Perhaps the point is that when the wine-drinkers were not clear-headed, the wine-seller insisted on using the heavy mina, though the light one was proper, and so made her customers pay double. But the idea seems to be that wine ought to cost as much as corn and no more. Both were measured by vessels of capacity. A full pint of wine for a full pint of corn was fair, and a fuddled drinker might know that he got his fair measure. The weighing of silver and the two scales of weight would be puzzling. There may be an attempt to discourage drunkenness in the clause that drink should not be cheaper than corn, but this is hard to prove. If the wine merchant collected together rebels, or violent rioters, in her house, she was bound to seize them and take them to the palace, on penalty of death; § 109. These rioters may be seditious plotters. That it was not a quite respectable business one may conclude from the fact that a votary of the gods, priestess, vestal, or whatever she was, was not permitted to open a wine shop nor to enter one; § 110.

If a wine-seller gave sixty ḴA of a particular strong drink, often spoken of as "excellent," to thirsty ones, in harvest time, she was to receive fifty ḴA of corn; § 101. Here she made apparently a free gift to the harvesters and was to be rewarded. The reward, considered as a payment, violated the above principle that wine should not be cheaper than corn. But in a thirsty time such a rule might be relaxed: or the act was not to be considered a violation of the law, as it was prompted by charity. It is less likely that she was actually allowed to reduce her price at harvest time, though this may well be the meaning.

The rendering, given by Professor Scheil and followed by Dr. Winckler, of § 41 presents some difficulties. According to them the benefice of a reeve or runner might (in his absence on king's business ?) be "enclosed" by a neighbor who found the "stakes" for the purpose. On his return the official would resume possession and his temporary supplanter had to forfeit the "stakes." This seems fair enough. But

we may ask if there was any object in enclosing the land. Why had not the official already done it himself?

But the word ubiḫ rendered "enclosed" is common enough in the contracts, see Meissner, *ABP.*, p. 130, as a side form of paḫu "to exchange." We have already been told in the code that the reeve could not alienate any portion of his benefice. It is natural to expect that he could not exchange it either. If any one dares to make such an exchange of his own farm for the official estate of a reeve, the code provided a punishment for him. The word rendered "stakes" is plural niplatim. But no word meaning stake will serve as its singular. The word niplu seems to mean a shoot, a branch. It is hardly like to mean a fencing stake. But alongside of paḫu we find a synonym palu, or apalu, see Meissner, *loc. cit.* Surely this gives niplatim at once as the thing offered or taken in exchange.

Hence I should render § 41 somewhat as follows: "If a man has exchanged the field, garden, or house, of a reeve, runner, or tributary, and has given an exchange, the reeve, runner, or tributary shall return to his field, garden, or house, and shall take for himself the exchange given him."

This is exactly parallel to the case of unlawful sale in § 35, where the buyer not only has to return his purchase, but also lose the price he paid for it.

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EMENDATIONS IN THE TEXT OF EZEKIEL.

24:21.—A *crux interpretum* is the word מַחְמַל in Ezek. 24:21. The LXX reads καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν φείδονται αἱ ψυχαὶ ὑμῶν; it is similarly explained in the new *Hebrew Lexicon*, "an object of your soul's compassion." Gesenius-Buhl *Lexicon* states that it is a word of unknown meaning. Bertholet, *in loco*, translates it "das Sehnen" = the longing; Kraetzschmar, *in loco*, renders it similarly, "das Verlangen." Both commentators are guided in their translations by the word מַחְמַד, which is found in some manuscripts. It occurs three times in Ezekiel, viz., 24:16, 21, 25. As, however, מַחְמַד occurs already once in this verse, the word מַחְמַל cannot have the same meaning. I explain it on the basis of the Aramaic root ܚܡܠ, of which the Afel pass. part. is ܡܚܡܠ = *collegit*. The meaning in both Peal and Paal is θησαυρίζειν. We read of a ܚܡܠܐ = *thesaurus*, Eph. Syr., in Ezek. 18:13; cf. Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.* All the stems contain the meaning "to collect, to treasure up," hence מַחְמַל, regarding it as an Afel pass. part. of the root ܚܡܠ, signifies "that which has been treasured up," *i. e.*, a treasure.

We find a goodly number of Aramaisms in Ezekiel, and as Aramaic was the *lingua franca* of the time (*cf.* 2 Kings 18:26), it certainly should not surprise us to find an Aramaic word in these prophecies, especially when the word seems to be a technical term. It is perhaps due to the

fact that מחמל was misunderstood by later copyists, who therefore inserted ן before מחמל. But this is not correct. In the first half of the verse Ezekiel is speaking of the sanctuary as the epitome of all that is desirable for a Yahweh-worshiper. In contrast to the Yahweh-worshiper stands the man (vs. 21b) who longs most of all for his sons and daughters. If מחמל נפ' were an additional reference, the statements in vs. 21a and vs. 21b would not balance each other; therefore we must omit the ן before מחמל and regard מחמל נפ' as an expression referring to the מקדש. Then vs. 21a will read: ". . . . . behold, I will profane my sanctuary, the pride of your strength, the desire of your eyes, the treasure of your soul."

36:10-12.—A careful study of this passage has led me to the belief that מ‍ is far from being correct. Vss. 10a and 12aa are doubtless doublets. The כל of vs. 10a is a doublet of כלה. For אדם בית-ישׂר', which is a very unusual expression, we must read, in accordance with vs. 12aa, אדם את-עמי ישׂר'. The את was miswritten בית, and the עמי, which could not be explained in this connection, was dropped. והולכתי (vs. 12a) is corrupted out of והרביתי. Vs. 12aa is a doublet of vs. 10a in its original form. Vs. 11aβ is omitted by LXX, but there can be no question that the whole of vs. 11a is an insertion by a later hand, as it separates vs. 10 from its natural sequence in vs. 11b. Read after והיטבתי with LXX מ‍, Cornill, Toy, Kraetzschmar, לכם. Vs. 12 belongs after מראשׁתיכם. It is also necessary to read in vs. 12 וירשׁוכם = "and they shall possess you," i. e., the plural pronoun instead of the singular; והייתם instead of והיית and also תוסיפו; cf. LXX. The mistake in the person is perhaps due to the fact that in the following verses the mountains are conceived of under the figure of a man-eater, while in vs. 12 the mountains are still addressed as such. According to these emendations vss. 10–12 read: "And I will multiply upon you men, my entire people Israel, and the towns shall be inhabited and the ruins shall be built up. (vs. 11) And I will cause you to be inhabited as in your former times, and I will do more good to you than in your earlier times. (vs. 12) And they shall possess you and ye shall be to them for an inheritance, and not shall ye bereave them again (sc. of their children), (vs. 11bγ) and ye shall know that I am Yahweh."

37:19.—This verse as it stands offers a good many difficulties. What are we to do with the phrase ונתתי אותם עליו את-עץ ? אותם refers without question to the עץ of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim and the tribes of Israel and its associates. As עץ is singular we must read אתו. עליו gives no sense in its present connection, and it seems to me to be a dittography of the original על-עץ, LXX ἐπὶ τὴν φυλήν. These simple emendations give us a clear text. Ezekiel is not the pan-Israelite, as Kraetzschmar tries to make him out, but his point of view is more that of the Judahite. Judah shall have the leadership in this looked-for reorganization, therefore the scepter of Ephraim is placed in the hand of Judah, in whose hand the two scepters

shall become one. For בְּיָדִי read after LXX, with Ewald, Toy, *et al.*, בְּיָדוֹ.

37:22.—The phrase בְּאֶרֶץ עַל הָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל does not occur elsewhere in the Old Testament. "Mountains of Israel" is exclusively used by Ezekiel. It occurs in the following passages: 6:3; 33:28; 34:14; 36:1, 4, 8 (37:22); 38:8; 39:2, 4, 17, yet never in connection with בְּאֶרֶץ. "Mountains of Israel" refers to the most conspicuous portion of the land of the Jews; as, however, בְּאֶרֶץ, according to LXX, precedes הָרֵי, *i. e.*, the term designating the entire country precedes the reference to a portion of that country, it seems to me that הָרֵי was added by a later hand, because the phrase "my land Israel" brought to his mind the familiar phrase of Ezekiel, "mountains of Israel," which he believed to have been omitted.

37:22αβ.—The phrase לְכֻלָּם לְמֶלֶךְ does not occur in LXX 𝔅, and is therefore deleted by Cornill *et al.* Cornill, however, reads, with LXX B, לָהֶם. The emphasis in this whole paragraph (vss. 15 *sqq.*) is laid upon the fact that the northern kingdom and the southern kingdom shall become an indissoluble unit. Hence, over *all of these, i. e.*, Judah and its associates and Ephraim and its associates, shall reign one king. In view of this לְכֻלָּם must be retained, and the strong presumption is that לְמֶלֶךְ is a dittography of לְכֻלָּם.

<div align="right">HANS H. SPOER.</div>

JERUSALEM.

WHO WAS MELCHIZEDEK?—A SUGGESTED EMENDATION OF GEN. 14:18.

Historically, Melchizedek was king of Salem and priest of God Most High. Theologically, he was the great prototype of the Great High Priest, Jesus the Christ. This has been the accepted answer. Is another answer possible?

I. A suggested emendation.

In the word שָׁלֵם, Gen. 14:18, exchange sibilants, remove the upper stroke of the לֹ, and we have "Melchizedek, king of Sodom." The bargain between Abram and his allies or the custom of the time would determine whether the word מַעֲשֵׂר, "tithe" (vs. 20), should be retained or omitted.

II. The reasons for making the emendation.

1. In the present state the story is disconnected. The king of Salem incident is felt to be an intrusion into the midst of the story of the king of Sodom and Abram. The connection is so loose that it almost seems like an interpolation. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. 7:2, 3) felt something of this strangeness when he referred to Melchizedek as "being first, by interpretation, king of righteousness, and then also king of Salem, which is king of peace; without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, being made like unto the Son of God." Of course this very abruptness of introduction into the narrative only added to the supposed mysterious supernaturalism of the character of Melchizedek.

2. "Melchizedek, king of Salem," seems to be an intruder into the narrative because he is not previously mentioned as having any interest in the result of the battle between the allied chieftains.

3. If Melchizedek is king of Salem, then the king of Sodom is nameless in the narrative. All who take any part in the events mentioned are named except the king of Bela, who is evidently an insignificant personage. It is plainly implied that Bera, former king of Sodom, was slain in the battle in the vale of Siddim. We naturally expect the name of the new king of Sodom who goes out to meet Abram after the defeat of the allied kings. This emendation gives his name.

4. It would be more appropriate for the king of Sodom than for a disinterested party to bless Abram and furnish the sacrificial meal in celebration of the victory over the allies.

5. It removes the strange circumstance of having a foreign priest suddenly appear upon the scene to receive tithes from Abram, for that seems to be the chief purpose of Melchizedek's introduction.

6. We then have Abram tendering to Melchizedek, king of Sodom, all or a tenth of the recovered plunder (according to whether we retain or omit מַעֲשֵׂר, "tithe," vs. 20), which, in either case, would be far more natural than for Abram to make an offering of a tenth of it to the disinterested priest-king of a disinterested god. It is then most appropriate for the grateful king of Sodom to be equally generous and reply, "No, only give me my people and you keep the goods."

III. Some reasons the scribe might have for reading "king of Salem" for "king of Sodom."

1. At a later date, Sodom became the victim of a great calamity and early theology considered it a just punishment for her sinfulness, so that the name of Sodom subsequently came to be the synonym of divine wrath. To a Jewish scribe it could not be possible that the father of the faithful took part with the king of Sodom in the worship of his god, so he easily read "Salem" for "Sodom" in the place in which Abram is connected with the worship conducted by Melchizedek, the priest-king.

2. There would also be the natural desire to make every possible connection between the patriarch and Jerusalem. Here is an opportunity to connect Abram with Jerusalem in the strongest possible manner. Read "Salem" for "Sodom" and then consider "Salem" a shortened form of "Jerusalem." We then have Abram paying tithes to the priest-king of Jerusalem. What could more strongly link Jewish worship to Jerusalem, and to a Jewish mind, what would be more plausible than this story of Abram and the priest-king of ancient Jerusalem?

3. The introduction of מַעֲשֵׂר (vs. 20) (if it were not already in the text) would give the most unanswerable argument for the tithing system. Even Abram must pay tithes, and he pays tithes to the priest-king of Salem long centuries before it became Jerusalem, hallowed by the presence of the temple and the Aaronic priesthood. This would put a most weighty argument into the hands of the collectors of delinquent tithes.

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Book Notices.

KING'S ASSYRIAN LANGUAGE.[1]

The author of this handy grammar is so well known to the readers of this JOURNAL as one of the most careful and competent of Semitic scholars, that it is only necessary to call their attention to the fact that this book is a summary of much that Mr. King has published in his earlier and larger work, viz., *First Steps in Assyrian* (1898). According to the author's statement the grammar is intended to form an easy introduction to the study of the cuneiform inscriptions. It contains (1) a short description of the development of the cuneiform characters from picture writing (pp. 1-17); (2) recounts the story of the gradual decipherment of the inscriptions, beginning with the accounts of early travelers in Persepolis, and traces in detail the method by which Grotefend and Rawlinson obtained the clue to the reading of the inscriptions (pp. 18-47). (3) A sketch is next given of the system of cuneiform writing and of the use of the characters as syllables, ideograms, and determinatives (pp. 48-69). Then follows (4) a selection of cuneiform signs with their syllabic and ideographic values (pp. 20-101).[2] (5) The main facts of Assyrian grammar are enumerated in a series of short chapters (pp. 102-144), and the more important rules are illustrated by brief extracts from Babylonian and Assyrian texts; each extract is printed in cuneiform type and is accompanied by a transliteration and translation. (6) The last two chapters contain a series of short extracts from historical documents, together with transliterations and translations, followed by a short glossary (pp. 145 *sqq.*). Every verb occurring in these texts is parsed in the footnotes to the texts and every form explained which might prove puzzling to the beginner.

The statements and grammatical rules are put clearly, precisely, and to the point; only once in a great while one would not agree with the

[1] ASSYRIAN LANGUAGE: Easy Lessons in the Cuneiform Inscriptions. By L. W. King, M.A., F.S.A. = Vol. V of "Books on Egypt and Chaldæa," edited by E. A. Wallis Budge and L. W. King. London: *Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd.*, 1901. xvi+220 pp. 3s. 6d., *net.*

[2] In this list King follows Delitzsch pretty closely, without, perhaps, paying enough attention to new values suggested or determined by later research. Thus No. 34, add t a t, d a d and compare Pinches, *BOR.*, I, 16.—37, add s u n and see *ZA.*, I, 182, rem. 2.—43, add š i r and Jensen, *ZK.*, II, 45; n i š a k k u, "governor," is rather doubtful.—44, according to *ZA.*, II, 303-4, the sign has the value m a š; š u l t u, *ibid.*, is, of course, a misprint for š u t t u.—75, for the meaning of b u r r u m u, b i r m u see now Jensen, *KB.*, VI, 1, 363-64.—86, add k a and compare Nebuch. *Grotef.* I, 36, where the sign is used for k a in k a - n a - k u - š u.—94, add k a m, k a, *ZA.*, II, 136.—On 99 compare Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, 15.—134, add ç a and *cf.* u - š a t - r i - ç a, V Rawl. X, 99.—157, add k u š and II Rawl. 48 c 48.—160, add r a b, V Rawl. 45, iv, 3.—189, *ZA.*, III, 303, rem. 1, adds g u.—190, *ZA.*, IV, 69, rem. 3, adds d u n; *ZA.*, I, 176 *sqq.*, g i n.—211, A N - I M read A d a d, not R a m m ā n u (see also No. 216), and yet, *cf.* KAT³ 442 *sqq.*—240, *ZK.*, II, 190, read š e g.—255, add g i, V Rawl. 30 *a-b* 6; *ZA.*, IV, 69, rem. 3.—269, add d (ţ) a b (p) and *cf.* V Rawl. 41 *a-b* 62; *ZA.*, I, 219.

author, as, *e. g.*, when he states (p. 53): "In the sign 'a, 'i, 'u, the Assyrians possessed a character for indicating the breathing, *but it is very rarely used.*"[3] To our knowledge it is used quite as often as many other signs of the syllabary.

Only occasionally a printer's error appears, as amdaḫis for amdaḫiṣ (p. 53, l. 16), etc. The name of the head of the Assyrian pantheon is perhaps better read Ašur, instead of Aššur (pp. 72 *passim*).

We heartily recommend the book to the beginners who cannot yet master King's *First Steps* or Delitzsch's *Assyrian Grammar.*

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THOMPSON'S INDEFINITE ARTICLE IN ASSYRIAN.[4]

Two years ago we had the pleasure of calling the attention of the readers of this JOURNAL to Mr. Thompson's *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon.* Since the publication of this important work, the author and Mr. King have been engaged chiefly in the preparation of the *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum,* under the editorial supervision of Mr. Budge, of which the authorities of the British Museum have thus far published fifteen volumes. While reading and copying such texts, Mr. Thompson noted from time to time a considerable number of passages in which the case-endings of the noun have been dropped, notwithstanding the fact that the noun is obviously not in the construct state. He now publishes some forty examples, and believes that they prove the existence of traces of an absolute state in Assyrian, similar to that in use in Aramaic; proving that when a noun is employed in Babylonian and Assyrian with case-endings it possesses the force of the emphatic state in Aramaic, even though it has apparently no equivalent for the postpositive article in the dialects of the latter. Syriac being one of the best known of the Aramaic dialects, the author divided the examples presented into groups, arranged under the various rules—quoted *verbatim*—for the use of the absolute in Syriac, as found in M. Duval's *Traité de grammaire Syriaque* (1881).

Extracts from the grammatical writings of Sir H. Rawlinson, J. Oppert, Sayce, Flemming, Jensen, Latrille, Delitzsch, Scheil and Fossey, show that, though the occurrence of a noun without case-endings and yet *not* in the construct state is well recognized, its real nature and significance has not yet been found. All the cases mentioned by Thompson appear to indicate the idea of a certain indefiniteness which would bring them into a category similar to that of Syriac nouns in the absolute state. If such a case as ultu rêš adi kit, "from beginning to end," be taken, it is obvious that neither rêš nor kit can be in the construct state, and yet both have lost their case-endings. The Assyrian noun

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[3] Italicized by the reviewer.

[4] ON TRACES OF AN INDEFINITE ARTICLE IN ASSYRIAN. By R. Campbell Thompson, M.A. London: *David Nutt*, 1902. 31 pp.

when used with its case-endings will be the equivalent—in sense and meaning, although not etymologically—of the Aramaic emphatic state, and the forms without case-endings—other than the construct—will similarly correspond with the absolute.

The author has succeeded in selecting excellent and telling proof texts for his arguments, without, in the least, denying that in all the cases considerable laxity prevails. The noun in Assyrian need not of necessity adhere to any fixed law, as will be seen at once by comparing variant readings. Here is a point where, we believe, the author or some other scholar, working along the lines of the author, could strengthen the argument considerably by discussing critically all the cases of indefinite article, having variant readings, in certain divisions of literature, say, the historical texts. Such a study would, we assume, prove the author's statement that the fundamental idea of indefiniteness appears to underlie the cases in Assyrian where the noun—not in the construct—drops its case-endings. This was in most cases, at least, an intentional dropping, and not accidental; and further, since this phenomenon takes place in prose as well as in poetry, it was in no wise due to a regard for meter. P. 26b, read e-pi-ŝat instead of e-pi-sat.

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AN ASSYRIAN DOOMSDAY BOOK.[1]

In the year 1086 the famous English Domesday Survey was completed by the commissioners of William the Conqueror, and embodied in the Domesday Book, so called because it was no more possible to appeal from it than from the Last Judgment.[2] Many centuries before this, similar census were compiled in Assyria and Babylonia. The book before us contains remains of the earliest survey of the district about Ḥarran. That similar records of the survey of other districts may yet be recovered is quite probable.[3]

The census lists published and discussed by the author are made up of twenty-two separate pieces, collected from forty-three fragments, chief

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[1] AN ASSYRIAN DOOMSDAY BOOK; or *Liber Censualis* of the District round Ḥarran, in the seventh century B. C. Copied from the Cuneiform Tablets in the British Museum. By the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Queens' College, Cambridge. Transliterated and Translated; with Index of Proper Names and Glossary (= Assyriologische Bibliothek, herausgegeben von Friedrich Delitzsch und Paul Haupt, XVII). Leipzig: *J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung*, 1901. viii + 82 pp.; 17 plates. M. 21.

[2] See S. R. Gardiner, *A Student's History of England*, London and New York, 1892, pp. 111-13; Benjamin Terry, *The History of England*, Chicago, 1901, pp. 170, 171.

[3] "The value to a great empire, such as that of Assyria, or of Babylonia, of an accurate record of the available population, its resources and occupations, must always have been appreciated. We now know that from very early times (the third millenium, B. C.) ample material existed for such a census. Estates were carefully surveyed and the areas of the fields estimated from actual measurements, correct to the last finger-breadth. The boundaries, names of neighbours, of roads, canals, streets, or public buildings, adjoining, were exactly stated. The class of land, corn-field, vineyard, orchard, or pasture, the names of the tenants or serfs, and the average yield were set down. Boundary stones engraved with the minutest details of the adjoining estate, and often bearing a short abstract of its recent history, were erected" (preface).

among which being K. 2017. Size, color, script, and order are minutely
described, followed by a register of the tablets. The nature of these
documents and the arrangement of matter is next taken up. Each tablet
was divided into four columns a side, each containing about fifty lines
and divided into sections by horizontal lines. The sections usually com-
prise each the entries relating to one holding, farm, or homestead. The
first person named was the *pater familias*, whose occupation was added
as a rule. Then were enumerated his sons by name, or merely counted,
the latter being done in case of women. Monogamy appears to be the
rule, so that aššâti may mean "wife" and "female servant;" and also
the sons' wives; daughters were counted separately from the "wives."
Next we have a description of the holdings and details of the property.
Each section closes with a statement of the name of the holding and its
situation. The territory covered extended over the vicinity of Ḫarran,
Serug, Baliḫi, and a number of other towns in Mesopotamia proper. In
discussing the divisions of this territory—the old šarrût kiššâti—
the author treats of many technical terms for town, farm, etc.[4] Of great
interest, as may naturally be supposed, are the proper names occurring
in these texts, and the new divinities mentioned together with purely
Assyrian gods.[5]

In the section on "Agricultural Terms and Allied Topics" are treated:
the arable land (eḳlu = חֶקְלָא), always written ideographically A-ŠÀ,
A-ŠÀ-GA, ŠÀ. The irrišu, written amêl PIN, was the man who
worked the irrigating machine (narṭabu, written (iṣu) PIN). The
land under irrigation was called aršu; but this included at one time, in
many cases, less than half the arable land. Land was fallow every other
year.[6] Vineyards and vines are specified and enumerated, as well as
horses were reserved for riding and driving. The peasant was a serf,
most commonly bought and sold, together with his family, with the
orchards, gardens, and the plants grown therein. The pastoral popula-
tion included shepherds (rê'û) assisted by undershepherds (kaparru),
and goatherds. Oxen were used especially to work irrigating machines;
but the ass was much more a working animal than the ox. Camels and

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[4] Thus ina batte batte = close neighborhood, the outskirts; qâni = district, while
nagû = (the larger) territory. Attention is called to the difference between alu (al šê =
small holding or farm) and maḫâzu, the town proper; between the šaknu (viceroy) or
bêl paḫâti (administrator of the province), and the ḫazânu (of the city) and the ḳêpu
(of country districts or ḳipâni).

[5] Here are enumerated the gods Našḫu = נשׂו of the *Nerab*-stele = Nušku, Nusku;
Si', the Sin of Ḫarran; Adadi; A-a; each occurring as an element in proper names of
Aramaic type, in which apart from the distinctively Syrian deities also the second elements
are Aramaic. The Assyrian ilu occurred as Al, Allâ = אלהא (KAT³ 354; 357, note 4; 469).
Local gods were Šêr, Têr (see also *ibid.*, p. 82), Atê (on which see Hoffmann, *ZA.*, Vol.
XI, p. 249, § 6), Atar(-idri, which latter = Hebr.-Canaanite עזר; KAT³ 446, note 1), this
last perhaps to be identified with Ištar. Also other names which occur in these inscrip-
tions are Aramaic in type, a fact that we should expect of the district of Ḫarran. This
shows that we have a record of the native people in their own homes. They are enrolled for
government purposes, but not transported to other lands. Only a few names show an Arabic
or Persian influence.

[6] In a field leased for two years one mêrišu denoted one year under crop, one
karabḫi the next year fallow.

estate on which they lived.　Though a *glebœ adscriptus,* he could acquire and hold property of his own.　Crown lands as a rule descended from father to son.　At times town dwellers, retired merchants, etc., settled in the country and became cultivators of the soil or vigniards.　The "levy," ilku, tithe and other requisitions, exacted at times, were contributed by the owner of the estate, although the peasants discharged the obligation.[7]

Pp. 28–72 contain transcription, translation, and commentary of the separate texts; followed by lists of place names; gods, named, or ocurring in compound names; and personal names (pp. 72–76); and a glossary (pp. 76–79).[8]

This short summary, inadequate though it is, will show the great importance of this contribution toward our knowledge of the history, geography, and culture of Ḥarran, written by one who, more than any other Assyriologist, speaks on this subject as one with authority.[9]

<div align="right">W. Muss-Arnolt.</div>

The University of Chicago.

STEVENSON'S ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN CONTRACTS.[10]

In this excellent and careful little volume, which was presented as a Doctor's Dissertation to the University of Chicago, Dr. Stevenson collects together such contract texts as bear Aramaic inscriptions in the British Museum.　In the infancy of cuneiform research much was hoped for from such inscriptions.　As bilingual tablets they would perhaps furnish a welcome check or confirmation to the readings proposed for the wedge-formed characters.　But it soon became evident that such a hope was

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[7] " Many estates were exempt from some or all of these obligations, by charter, probably, and others owed their dues to temples. The contracts for the sales of estates frequently show a clause specifying that the estate is free from such charges. As we can hardly suppose such a general freedom obtained by letters patent, it probably was possible to compound with the government by some recognized payment. Such a composition would not be made in the case of crown lands and we expect them to be subject to all the charges exacted from the peasantry. This may be the explanation of the mysterious 'marks' (discussed at length on pp. 79–81) attached to certain of the members of the families in our documents."

[8] The Glossary mentions some very interesting words and forms, e. g., ad-ru, an enclosed yard, barn, or the like; ba-tu-su, epithet of a "daughter," perhaps "child" (see also *ibid.,* p. 80, and *Assyrian Deeds and Documents,* Vol. III, 519-21); (iṣu) u-lu-pu; ra-am-ri, a plant; on amêl râb MU = "chief baker," see now, on the other hand, Delitzsch in *BAS.,* Vol. IV, p. 484; the reading nisḫu for the sign MAN-ḫu is quite certain from the passages where nis is spelled ni-is, see Muss-Arnolt, *Dictionary,* pp. 700, 701; ṣar-bu-tu; qab-lu, some sort of garden, or enclosure; qa-tin, an official, overseer, store-keeper; the bît ri-pi-tu, No. 15, 1, contains perhaps the same word as akal ri-pi-tu, Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln,* Nos. 66, O 8; 67, O 7, explained by Zimmern as a "Getreide-art;" *cf.* רִיפוֹת; 1 ri-bit, in No. 7, left-hand edge, II 3, belongs also perhaps here; bît ri-pi-tu would be a granary; râku, "idle, unemployed," pl. râḳûti, occurs also in Neb. 62, 6, etc.; (iṣu) ša-šu-gi, a cultivated plant. Is u-še-lu-ni really a Pi'êl of šelû, " to offer, dedicate " ?

[9] P. 12, l. 4, read: Distinguish Assyrian *from* Babylonian names; l. 21 (end), read *certainty* for " certainly ;" p. 13, l. 18 (+ 21), כְּמַד for כְּמַד ; p. 16, l. 6 from below, Šêr for Šêr; p. 78, col. 2, nadbaru, MAT-BAR "steppe," waste land, 8, I, 12, where (on p. 62) the form is correctly read madbar (c. st. of madbaru).

[10] Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts with Aramaic reference notes. By J. H. Stevenson, Ph.D., Professor in Vanderbilt University. The Vanderbilt Oriental Series. *American Book Company.*

quite illusory. Indeed, we now turn rather to the cuneiform in order to discover what these Aramaic inscriptions mean. It is, therefore, no small gain to have the cuneiform texts as well. Dr. Stevenson further transliterates and translates the cuneiform, so that any one can follow their bearing on the sense to be conjectured for the Aramaic.

The book deserves great praise for the kindly way in which the previous attempts to deal with these inscriptions are described and corrected. Many of the tablets are hard to read in the cuneiform but as a rule the Aramaic is far harder. The signs are scratched in, often very slightly. But whatever can be made out is really valuable, because it is so accurately dated. A student of Semitic palæography has here the most perfect guide he can get to the changes which the Aramaic writing underwent from the seventh to the fifth centuries B. C.; at any rate, in Assyria and Babylonia.

With the exception of one or two texts written wholly in Aramaic the inscriptions rarely add any information to what the cuneiform contained. They were in no way essential parts of the documents. They seem to have played the same part as a penciled note on an engrossed deed. Hence they are well described as "reference notes." This need not be pressed to mean that they were for the convenience of a curator, who might be called upon to find them in a hurry. For sometimes the Aramaic, as in No. 2, gives practically all the information of the cuneiform. In other cases, as in No. 1, a whole deed of sale of twenty-four lines is docketed with simply the name of the seller.

It is probable that in the present state of the originals no more accurate copies can be made than Dr. Stevenson has given. Advances may be made when the meaning of some obscure words, or traces of words, are illustrated by parallels elsewhere, or by better understanding of the cuneiform. Any day a tablet may turn up, which by a variant, or a fresh context, may fix the sense of the many ideographic or otherwise uncertain words in the cuneiform. What is certain is set down clearly and with due references to the source of our knowledge.

A few suggestions may here be made for the purpose of eliciting further research. On p. 116 the rendering of שׂערין by "interest" is preferred to Rawlinson's "rice." But ŠE-PAT seems to be always used of corn for food, and ŠE-BAR as corn more generally. It is therefore still possible that the Aramaic means "barley," as the usual food of the working classes. There seems no ground for the rendering "interest," or "taxation" in the circumstances of an advance of grain to a farmer at harvest time.

The phrase referred to on p. 20, ṣibtu bennu ana mê ûmê ṣartu ana kâl šanâte, means probably that as ṣibtu, "seizure," and bennu some "fever" or disease was a thing likely to render the purchased slave valueless, a hundred days were allowed within which the purchaser might repudiate his bargain. The seller suspecting that his slave was sickening might have tried to sell him, but the purchaser inserted this clause to protect himself from having a sick slave on his hands. The

hundred days seems a long time for an illness to incubate. But in
the early Babylonian contracts the time allowed for the bennu was
"one month." There it is associated with tepitum, which is allowed
one to three days. This was in the case of female slaves, who were
thus sold on trial. The buyer could not send back the slave after
three days on the ground that she had any organic deficiency. The
sartu here is any "blemish" such as justified the return of a slave.
That could be pleaded any time. So the code of Ḫammurabi enacted
that a slave could be sent back on proof of a bagru, or cause of com-
plaint. The clause is a guarantee on the part of the seller that the slave
has no undisclosed defect. It is a stock phrase and condensed by omis-
sion of the apodosis. So, often, we read ša pî duppi šuati unakkaru,
"who shall pervert the tenor of this document," but the fate in store is
not set down. In the phrase quoted from III R. 49, No. 3, 32, the sen-
tence reads in full, ša sinništi, ištu pâni sarte, ḳâtâ ṣibti, ḫabulli,
Karmeuni šû amêlu urkiu, "for the woman, against any defect,
seizure of the hands (or) injury, Karmeuni he is guarantee." The
"seizure of the hands," like ṣibit pî, "seizure of the mouth," means a
seizure which renders them useless.

The notes on the text are always helpful and suggestive though
finality is out of the question yet on account of the lacunæ and for want
of parallels. Here and there a small typographical error occurs and
there are one or two oversights. On p. 138, אולת is for amiltu rather
than amelutu. In No. 35, line 1, for ina mâti išu read ina sat-
tuk. The asnê seem to be a sort of date fruit, brought from Dilmun
(*ZA.*, XII, p. 408 f.). On p. 130, the belit tree is better read tillit and
seems to be a variant of tillatu, a grape vine.

The translations are well done with the present state of knowledge;
the cuneiform texts seem to be the most reliable yet produced, and
there is a very useful register of proper names. Altogether it is a most
useful and careful piece of work.

<div style="text-align: right">C. H. W. JOHNS.</div>

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FOSSEY'S LA MAGIE ASSYRIENNE.[1]

Since the days of Lenormant's work (*Études Accadiennes*, 1873–
1880; *Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldäer;* improved and
enlarged German edition, Jena, 1878) no attempt has been made to
produce an exhaustive treatise on Babylonian Magic, although many
texts dealing with this subject have been published. The present care-
fully edited book cannot fail, therefore, to be a welcome contribution to
our knowledge of this important and interesting branch of Assyriology.
Dr. Fossey,[2] who has dedicated his work to the veteran Jules Oppert,

has realized and endeavored to respond to the need of a thorough and systematic classification of the data on this subject.

The book is really divided into five sections, of which the first (pp. 1–11) contains the introduction and the first chapter on the sources (pp. 13–20). The second section, which is designated Part First by the author, treats exhaustively of the aim and object of the ancient Assyro-Babylonian magic (pp. 21–64); viz., chap. ii (pp. 24–41), "Demons;" chap. iii (pp. 42–51), "Sorcerers and Sorceresses;" chap. iv (pp. 52–64), "Spells; Maladies." The third section, called the Second Part by the author (pp. 65–121), deals with the actual practice of magic; viz., chap. vi (pp. 70–74), "Purification Rites; Ablutions and Fumigations;" chap. vii (pp. 75–81), "Rites to Destroy Disease;" chap. viii (pp. 82–87), "Rites for Transmission of Disease;" chap. ix (pp. 88–92), "The Magical Pharmacopeia;" chap. x (pp. 93–103), "Oral Rites; Incantations and Imprecations;" chap. xi (pp. 104–121), "Preventive Rites; Amulets and Talismans." The fourth division of the work (the author's Third Part, pp. 122–143) is devoted to the relations which existed between magic and religion; viz., chap. xii (pp. 122–134), "The Gods in Magic;" chap. xiii (pp. 135–143), "Conclusion; Magic, Religion, and Science." The fifth and last section of the work presents forty-six magical texts in transliteration and with translalation (pp. 144–462), together with a few notes (pp. 463–474), and additions and corrections (p. 475).

Fossey has pointed out the main distinction between the Egyptian and Assyro-Babylonian religious systems. The life of ancient Egypt seems to us now to have been absolutely dominated by the idea of death. Preparation for the perpetuation of the soul or "double" in an after life was the Egyptians' chief care. In Babylonia and Assyria, on the other hand, we find a much more virile religious tone. Their theologians had comparatively little interest in setting forth theories regarding the condition of man after death. Welfare in the present life was their theme and the object of their solicitude. This accounts for the fact, therefore, that practically their whole system was a series of preventions against the woes of the flesh. The chief document which we have on the subject of the dead, "The Descent of Ishtar to Hades," is a mere didactic description of the other world; an edifying history, which probably arose, in order to justify and extol the annual ceremonies in honor of Tammuz. Indeed, the description of the lower world, whither Ishtar goes to recover her lost lover, is merely an episode in the poem. Prevention and cure were the double purpose of the Babylonian magic; prevention against the encroachment of malignant human sorcerers as well as against the army of malevolent demons, whose special province was the affliction of mankind with disease, and the cure of that disease, when their preventive measures failed. There was no such thing as a practice of medicine, although the Babylonians had the beginnings of a pharmacopeia, chiefly vegetable, which was used only in connection with the all-important rites. Fossey discusses this point quite fully, pp. 88–92.

[2] Author also of *Syllabaire Cunéiforme* and *Grammaire Assyrienne* (in collaboration with V. Scheil).

His summary of the different forms of magical rites given above in the list of the chapters practically covers the ground. It should be noted, in connection with the rites for the destruction of disease, that they practiced the custom of making an image of the offending sorcerer or demon which was then burned, thrown in the river or buried. It is hardly necessary to point out that this superstition was known in our own mediæval magic.

It was but a step from this form of incantation to the rites of transmission, whereby the disease was removed bodily from the patient by a physical act. In some cases the image of the sorcerer was placed in a bowl in which the patient's hands were washed. If the illness had been caused by a demon, or if the person of the sorcerer were not known, the waters in which the patient had washed were thrown out in an *open space* and the charm was thus absorbed by the earth, unless, indeed, it might pass to some unwary traveler who chanced to walk over the spot. Fossey renders the word which I translate "open space" by "cross-road" (*carrefour*, p. 83). Although this Assyrian word ribîtu might be regarded as a derivative from the same stem as the numeral "four," the Sumerian word in this passage (IV, 16, 52, 53a) means a great place (tar-dagal-la), pointing to a derivative from rabû, "be great."

A number of details in Fossey's work require a careful examination. Thus, pp. 85–86, the author distinctly rejects my view of the text, *ASKT.*, No. 12, which he translates in full pp. 450–456. In *JAOS.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1–22 (1900), I presented translations with commentary of *ASKT.*, pp. 104–106 (the unilingual inscriptions, *K.* 138 and *K.* 3232), which I believe set forth the rite for transmitting a disease from a human being to some horned animal. This idea was suggested to me by the passage, *ASKT.*, p. 105, l. 37, bir-ghul-dub-ba šu-u-me-ti; l. 38, saga-bi sag-ga-na u-me-ni-gar; l. 39, lugal-e tur dingir-ra-na u-me-te-gur-gur. This can only mean: "Take the ghulduppu (animal with long horns, *cf. JAOS.*, Vol. XXI, p. 7); place its head on his (the patient's) head. From the king, the son of his god (ritualistic formula for 'patient') destroy it" or "drive it away." Fossey admits the superimposition of the animal's head on the patient's (p. 453), but renders gur (l. 39) by "purify," *i. e.*, "the patient." The question then hinges on the meaning of gur = dapâru, "destroy, tear away, do away with," never "purify" (used, *e. g.*, of sin, *K.* 4931, rev. 7, 8), and on the rendering of -na, the Sumerian suffix. That -na can mean ana is amply shown, *Br.* 1587, and I see, therefore, no reason to change my Assyrian rendering of the line: ana šarri mâr îlišu dupirma. If lugal-e tur dingir-ra-na be regarded as the object of umete-gur-gur the translation would be "destroy" or "drive away the patient," as Fossey's translation "purify" seems impossible! The -na here probably has the double force of a postposition ana and of the suffix 3d pers. sing. -šu; tur dingir-ra-na = ana mâr îlišu. This is the reverse of the phenomenon of conflation seen, for example, *ASKT.*, 98, 99, l. 43: bar-ta-bi-šû (ku) = ina axâti, where -ta- and -šû (ku) =

ina. This last passage is, I think, absolute proof that the postposi-
tional element may occasionally precede the suffix, as in *ASKT.*, 105, l. 32,
tu-tu-da-na, which I render "in her incantations" (ina sipâtiša),
to which Fossey objects, pp. 473, 474. Owing to lack of space, the
details of this discussion must be reserved for a special article, but it
may be added that in IV, 26, No. 6, 22 *sqq.*, the expressions: urîça
ana napištišu ittadin; qaqqad urîçi ana qaqqad amêli
ittadin, etc., "the urîçu has been given for his life, the head of the
urîçu has been given for the head of the man"—are not contradictory
to my view, as Fossey thinks (p. 86). This text deals with the sacrifice
of an urîçu, as Fossey points out, but he does not lay sufficient stress
on the fact that the urîçu is here the ritualistic representative of
the patient, although he renders "le mouton, l'image de l'homme."
Here we have simply the sacrifice of the animal to remove evil influ-
ences; viz., the entire animal for the life of the man, and then the parts
are carefully specified; *i. e.*, head for head, neck for neck, breast for
breast. This is quite a distinct rite from that of the scapegoat in
ASKT., 105, although the general idea is similar. The sacrificial animal
by its death removes the disease from the patient, *i. e.*, the animal's
death takes the place of the patient's death. It is surely not necessary
to strain the imagination, in order to see parallel usages to the ancient
Hebrew customs in these inscriptions, and there is hardly sufficient
justification for Dr. Fossey's slur in this connection regarding "so many
Assyriologists' finding the whole Bible in the Assyrian texts" (p. 86).

Finally, I note that in *ASKT.*, No. 11 (pp. 86–89), col. ii, 16–20,
Fossey translates as follows:

16. ud-diš ga-ba-da-an-ku = ša ûma lâkul "tout le jour que je mange."
17. ud-diš ga-ba-da-an-nak = ša ûma lâšti "tout le jour que je boive."
18. ud-diš ga-ba-da-an-na = ša ûma luqlal "tout le jour que je dorme."
19. ud-diš ga-ba-da-an-zal = ša ûma luštabri "tout le jour que je sois fort."
20. ghe-em-ma-an-gaba-a = lû tappaṭṭar "tout le jour que je sois mis en pièces."

Line 20 seems to me to make no sense in this rendering. The inscrip-
tion appears to mean: "Whensoever I eat; whensoever I drink; when-
soever I rest; whensoever I am satisfied; O make it free from sin!"
This is the usual sense of paṭâru in such passages: *cf.* mamîtsu
pušurma mamîtsu puṭurma, IV, 7, 35, 36a, used of a curse; IV, 8,
12a, of loosening sin and wrath (*K.* 2866, 34, 36, 42, etc.).

It would have been much better if the author had printed his text
numbers at the head of each page as well as the references which are
already there. A list of the texts discussed with page references and a
Sumero-Assyrian glossary would also have aided the student greatly.

Dr. Fossey's work is a most interesting attempt to translate a
number of extremely difficult and obscure inscriptions. Although he
has certainly not said the last word on many points, the book merits a
place of honor in every Assyriological library.

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JEHOIACHIN'S DESCENDANTS.[1]

Professor Rothstein's book on the genealogy of King Jehoiachin has for its aim the illumination of the history of the house of David during the obscure period that follows the capture of Jerusalem in 596 B. C. by means of a minute study of the meaning of the names in the list of the descendants of Jehoiachin in 1 Chron. 3:17-24. Contrary to the ordinary view, which supposes that all of Jehoiachin's children were born after his release from prison in 560, Rothstein holds that it is more probable that the first two sons, Shealtiel and Malchiram, were born soon after the deportation of their father to Babylon. Jehoiachin reigned three months, and is known to have had a harem which was carried away with him by Nebuchadrezzar. It would be strange if none of his wives had given birth to children after their arrival in Babylon. In the name of the first son, Shealtiel, "I-have-asked-of-God," Rothstein sees an expression of gratitude on the part of the captive king that his longing for posterity was not disappointed. In the name of the second child, Malchiram, "My-king-is-exalted," he sees a compliment to Nebuchadrezzar, that at the same time was capable of another Jewish religious interpretation. At the beginning of his captivity, according to Rothstein, Jehoiachin was not treated severely by Nebuchadrezzar; it was only after the projected revolt of 593 that he fell under suspicion of plotting treason and was cast into a dungeon, where he remained in close confinement until 560. The absence of any descendants of Shealtiel and Malchiram from the list of the Chronicler Rothstein explains as due to their being put to death by Nebuchadrezzar at the time of Jehoiachin's degradation, just as he subsequently slew the children of Zedekiah, although he suffered Zedekiah himself to live. During the period of his close confinement Jehoiachin was not permitted to have access to his wives, and no children were born to him; but when in 560 Evil-Merodach took pity upon him and restored him to a place of honor among his captives, he was once more permitted to enjoy the delights of family life and a son was born to him. In the name of this third child, Pedaiah, "Yahweh-has-released," Rothstein sees an allusion to Jehoiachin's recent release from prison. The name Shenazzar, which follows that of Pedaiah, he regards, not as a fourth son of Jehoiachin, but as the Babylonian equivalent of Pedaiah: and with Kosters, Meyer, and Sellin, holds this to be merely a textual variant of Sheshbazzar, the name of the first governor of Judea after the return from captivity. In accordance with this view he emends the text of 1 Chron. 3:17 so as to read הוּא שׁנֽאצֶר אֹֿ instead of וּשׁנֽאצֶר. The names of the other children of Jehoiachin — Jekamiah, Hoshamah, and Nedabiah, are, like Pedaiah, expressive of the deliverance that had come to the captive king.

Pedaiah = Sheshbazzar was the leader of the party that returned to Judea soon after the edict of restoration in 538. The identification of Sheshbazzar with Zerubbabel in the book of Ezra must, accordingly, be regarded as a mistake. The sons of Pedaiah, according to 1 Chron. 3:19, were Zerubbabel and Shimei, but according to the book of Haggai, and Ezra 3:2, 8; 5:2, Zerubbabel was the son of Shealtiel. The testimony of the book of Haggai is not the testimony of a contemporary, for this book can be shown to be a compilation of the words of Haggai by a later hand; and the testimony of Ezra seems to rest entirely upon the additions of a late editor. Neither Zechariah nor the oldest portions of Ezra and Nehemiah know anything about Pedaiah being the son of Shealtiel. The view preserved by the Chronicler that Zerubbabel was the son of Pedaiah is to be preferred because, if he had been the son of Jehoiachin's first born, Shealtiel, tradition would never have made him the son of a younger child; while, if he had been the son of Pedaiah, it is easy to see how tradition should have preferred to regard him as the descendant of Jehoiachin's oldest son.

If Zerubbabel was the son of Pedaiah, he cannot have been born much before the time of the return of Judah in 538. This explains his singular name. He would not have been called Zerub-Babel unless his birth had occurred in Babylon at a time when the return to Judea was in prospect or else at a time immediately after the return. The name of Pedaiah's second son, Shimei = Shemaiah, "God-has-heard," in accordance with this theory, becomes expressive of the gratitude felt by Pedaiah for the restoration of his family to its native land. Pedaiah must have died young, since only two sons were born to him, and since in 520 he was already succeeded by his son Zerubbabel. It is possible that he fell a victim to the intrigues that we know were carried on against the young colony by the Samaritans and others.

Zerubbabel cannot have been more than eighteen or nineteen years old when his father perished, consequently his children were probably born after this event, and their names may be expected to throw some light upon the historical situation. Meshullam, Hananiah, and Shelomith, all names expressive of peace and divine grace, correspond with the fact that, in spite of his father's downfall, Zerubbabel was confirmed by the king of Persia as governor of Judea.

At the beginning of vs. 20 the words "and the sons of Meshullam" have fallen out of the text, as is shown by the concluding enumeration "five" at the end of the verse. The names of the five sons of Meshullam Rothstein emends so as to read, Hashabiah, Joel, Berechiah, Hasadiah, and Joshibiah. In the cheerful and hopeful tone of these names there is apparently a token that the fate which Sellin assumes to have overtaken Zerubbabel did not actually befall him. The text of vss. 21 and 22 Rothstein emends to read, "And the sons of Hananiah: Pelatiah, and Jeshaiah, and Rephaiah, and Arnan, and Obadiah, and Shecaniah. And the sons of Shecaniah: Hattush, and Jogaal, and Bariah, and Noadiah, and Shaphat." Hattush is known from Ezra 8:2 to have been in Babylon

in the year 458. Hence Rothstein infers that at the beginning of the
reign of Xerxes the complaints that were made against the Jews (Ezra
4 : 6) resulted in the deportation of the members of the house of David
from Jerusalem, and, apparently, in the destruction of the older branch.
The names of the children of Shecaniah are all appeals to Yahweh to
vindicate the family from its enemies.

These theories are presented by Rothstein with a vast amount of
learning and ingenuity. It is doubtful whether they can ever be demon-
strated, but they are certainly immensely suggestive and cannot fail to
exert an influence upon our conception of post-exilic history. No student
of the Persian period can afford to ignore this valuable discussion.

The appendix on an unnoticed testimony for the Messianic inter-
pretation of the "Servant of Yahweh" is of less interest and moment
than the main treatise. Professor Rothstein attempts to show that the
compiler of the book of Isaiah, whom he identifies with the author of
chaps. 56–66, and whom he supposes to have lived about 450 B. C.,
arranged all the older material in the book with a definite plan of adapt-
ing it to the needs of his own generation. This unity of plan shows that
he must have interpreted the "Servant" passages in the second half of
the book in the same way in which he interpreted the individual Mes-
sianic utterances; that is, we have a testimony to the Messianic inter-
pretation of these passages older than any external evidence hitherto
discovered. The difficulty of this argument is that it rests upon the
assumption of a unity of plan running through the entire book of Isaiah.
This Rothstein attempts to show, but his arguments will strike most
critics as unconvincing. The relation of Deutero-Isaiah to Isaiah has
far more the appearance of being accidental.

<div style="text-align: right">LEWIS B. PATON.</div>

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GABRIELI'S AL BURDATAN.[1]

The legends connected with the cloak (Burdah) of Mohammed take
us into the somewhat neglected field of Islamic popular religion. We
are wont to gauge the religion of the followers of the prophet entirely by
the Koran and the official commentaries and traditions upon which Islam
as a system is based. But a real history of religion, just as a real history
of culture, must go beyond the official. Religion is so personal a matter,
that, despite all systematizing, many undercurrents run beneath the
current of official dogmas and practices. Folk-religion is often the most
important study of the student of religion ; it is on a level with folk-lore
and folk-medicine. The belief in the beneficent or malevolent power of
the Jinns, or the harm which satans and ifrits can do, is the popular
religion of the Bedouin, no matter what Islamic gloss may be laid over it.

Few religious teachers were as human as Mohammed. He had very
little of the mystic in him and no pretense at all to superhumanity: too

[1] AL BURDATAN ovvero I Due Poemi Arabi Del "Mantello" in Lode Di Maometto.
Contributo Storico Critico Allo Studio Della Leggenda Di Maometto Nell' Oriente Musul-
mano di Giuseppe Gabrieli. Firenze: *Biblioteca Scientifico-Religiosa*, 1901. 8+124 pp.

little of this for many of his followers. When Islam became a state religion and a state organization, the danger was very great that its founder might be raised to a position above the earth, which he, least of all, desired or would have countenanced. The contact with other faiths and other beliefs, more particularly with that of the Persians, brought elements into Islam which might have been its undoing, had not the sternly human and strongly monotheistic groundwork laid by its founder persisted throughout all time. It is the greatest tribute to him that the veneration in which he came to be held seldom transgressed human limits; for it was natural that the veneration of him as prophet and teacher should in time turn into the veneration of his person and of such things as were associated with him in life. This veneration for the relics ('Āthār)—his hair, his shoes, his hat—grew up, aided by the worship of relics of this kind found in other and contiguous faiths. But, withal, little official religious recognition was given to these relics, and they were never placed in mosques as objects of worship.

It is said that Ka'b ibn Zuhair ibn Abi Sulma, one of the poets who bridged over the Jāhiliyyah and Islam, famous son of a famous father of Mu'allaḳah renown, refused at first to follow his tribe, the Banu Muzainah, or even his brother Bujair, to the acknowledgment of the Muslim's faith. Nay, more, he even poked fun at his brother for so doing and bantered the prophet ("Haja Muḥammadan"). It would have gone ill with him, condemned to death as he was for this, had he not extricated himself from the meshes of his own indiscretion: turning his valor into discretion, he made off to Medina with a Ḳaṣīdah done for the occasion (known as "Bānat Su'ād" from its opening words). It was the usual thing: the memory of the beloved and the description of the camel. But he had cleverly woven in it the tale of his own troubles, and his fear of death at the hands of the prophet, whom he proceeds to wash down with the health-giving water of abundant praise. It is told that the process was successful for both, for the singer and the one sung. Mohammed had gained a Muslim; Zuhair, the mantle which the former in his delight had thrown upon him.

This mantle became a treasure and in course of time a precious relic. Mu'āwiyah is said to have offered 10,000 drachmas for it; but in vain. The price had doubled when the glamour of the poet's death had lightened up its somberness. Zuhair's son parted with it to the Ommiad for 20,000. But it was only under the Abbasides that it came officially to light, and became for these orthodox Caliphs one of the insignia of power, together with the scepter (Kaḍīb) and the seal (Khātim) of the prophet. These Caliphs were clothed in it when first proclaimed; or, afterward, when leading public prayer or solemnly starting out to war. Even if not worn, it was at times placed before them: the official recognition of the theocratic character of the Abbasid rulers.

The legend subsisted and went off into the realm of magic and mysticism. An Egyptian of Abūṣir, named Sharaf al-Dīn Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Buṣīrī, living in the thirteenth century (1211-1294) wrote

a Burdah poem entitled "The Brilliant Stars in Praise of the Most
Excellent of Created Beings," which has gone beyond, in its vogue, the
Ḳaṣīdah of his predecessor Zuhair.   The legend has it that this poet
was grievously ill—given up (we should say, too) by his physicians.   In
a dream he saw the prophet, who enveloped him in his mantle.   Hence
the poem, and hence the convalescence of the poet; or, perhaps, the
order of events was the reverse.   It is more than a mere fulsome praise
of Mohammed; it is a didactic poem, a Mohammedan catechism, as
Goldziher calls it.   This explains its popularity from Spain to India,
though the classic period of Arabic poetry was at an end.   It has not
only suffered innumerable commentaries; but it has served for rhymesters
to build up on it a Takhmīs (adding four rhyming verses to each one of
the original), a Tasbī' (adding six), a Tasṭīr, a Tadyīl, etc.   Nay, more,
it has stood service as a magical formula for amulets, and in Egypt is
recited by those who convoy the dead body to its grave.

Gabrieli, whose articles on Arabic literature and Semitic antiquities
have appeared in various Italian publications, has here given us a new
translation of these famous poems, with copious notes and excurses.   His
text of the first is that of Guidi (Leipzig, 1871) controlled by the text in
Ibn Hishām's Sīrat al-Rasūl (also in Nöldeke's Delectus, pp. 110 sq.,
translation in Rückert's Ḥamāsah, i, 152, in the poet's usual happy vein).
That of the Burdah of al-Buṣīrī follows the Cairo text of 1897, with the
glosses of al-Azharī (d. 1500) and the commentary of al-Bajūrī (d. 1860).
Various translations of the second Burdah have been made—by Rosen-
zweig (Vienna, 1824) and Ralfs (Vienna, 1860) in German; by de Sacy
(1841), Albegno (Jerusalem, 1872), and Basset (1894) in French; by
Shaikh Faizullabhai (Bombay, 1893) in English; not to mention Turkish
and Persian ones.   We are thankful to have another accurate transla-
tion—this time in Italian.

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ISAIAH'S PARABLE OF THE VINEYARD.

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Cheyne says in his notes on Is. **5**, in *The Polychrome Bible,* that 'the Parable of the Vineyard takes the form of a song. The prophet assumes the character of a popular singer. If he accompanied his song with music, he must have changed his note at v. 3, and what an effect must have been produced when in the middle of a sentence (v. 6) he suddenly passed out of the lyric into the grave prophetic rhythm, and became no longer a singer but an orator.' These remarks are evidently based on Duhm's commentary.* Duhm's analysis of the poem has been adopted also by Marti.† Duhm thinks that there is a different rhythm from וְעָלָה שָׁמִיר וָשָׁיִת on; but this clause is a gloss, and the following lines exhibit the same rhythm as the preceding stanzas. In his *Introduction*‡ Cheyne says that vv. 1–7 are in two distinct rhythms or meters; the division is at v. 6°, when Isaiah, in the midst of his threatening prophecy respecting the vineyard, suddenly exchanges the light, dancing, popular rhythm for a heavy prophetic parallelism.

Ewald‖ arranged only the first two verses in lines, evidently thinking that the rhythm in the following verses was different.

* First edition, Göttingen, 1892; second edition, 1902.

† *Das Buch Jesaia* (Freiburg i. B. 1900), p. 55.

‡ *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* (London, 1895), p. 23.

‖ *Jesaia²* (Göttingen, 1867), p. 306.

In Hitzig's translation of the poetical books of the Old Testament, on the other hand, the whole poem is printed in lines.[*]   In Kautzsch's *Textbibel* (1899) the second half of v. 5 and vv. 6. 7 are printed in lines, but not the preceding verses.   Cersoy,[†] on the other hand, thinks that the first two verses were borrowed by Isaiah from a popular song, but that the following verses are not metrical.   If we look at Sievers'[‡] arrangement of the poem we can easily see how a commentator may arrive at the conclusion that vv. 3–7 are not metrical; for there is apparently no regularity whatsoever.   But if the song is freed from superfluous scribal expansions the meter is the same from the first verse to the last.

There is no change of rhythm in the poem.   This parable consists of four[||] stanzas; each stanza is composed of four משלים[§] with two beats in each hemistich.   Each of the first three stanzas comprises two Masoretic verses, while the last stanza is represented by v. 7.   The text of the first three stanzas is on the whole correct but considerably expanded; in the last stanza, on the other hand, we find an omission and a corruption. The scribal expansions are all such as we frequently meet with in other texts of the Old Testament.

I would arrange the Hebrew text as follows: [**]

[*] *Die poetischen Bücher des AT* (Leipzig, 1854); so, too, in Hendewerk's *Jesaja*, part 1 (Königsberg, 1838), p. 129, and in Umbreit's commentary (Hamburg, 1846).

[†] *L'apologue de la Vigne au chapitre V⁰ d'Isaïe* in the *Revue Biblique* (Jan. 1899), pp. 3–12 (cited in Marti's commentary, p. 55).   *Cf.* ZA **9**, 351.

[‡] *Metrische Studien* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 434.

[||] Ernst Meier in his commentary (Pforzheim, 1850) divided the poem into two stanzas: vv. 1–4 and 5–7.

[§] See my paper on The Poetic Form of the First Psalm in HEBRAICA, **19**, 137, n. 15.   The four double-hemistichs of each stanza may be grouped in two couplets.

[**] The arrangement of Hebrew poetic texts in double-hemistichs, in two columns, which I introduced in part 15 (Proverbs) and 4 (Numbers, cc. **21. 23. 24**) of *The Polychrome Bible*, is found in certain Hebrew MSS, *e. g.*, in the Sephardic MS, British Museum, Oriental 2201.   In this beautiful quarto MS, which is one of the oldest dated copies of the entire Hebrew Bible, having been written at Toledo in 1246 A.D., the three poetical books, Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, are written in double-hemistichs, in two columns.   A collotyped facsimile reproduction of folio 283ᵃ (containing Ps. 106, 23ᵇ–107, 32) of this MS is given on plate ix of the Series of XV Facsimiles of MSS of the Hebrew Bible published by James Hyatt (London, 1897).   Ginsburg says in his description of this plate, 'The three poetical books are arranged in prescribed lines,' whatever that may mean; see also Ginsburg's *Introduction to the Masoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897), p. 675; *cf.* also *ibid.*, pp. 517. 729.   Ginsburg's remarks are unfortunately not sufficiently clear (*cf.* *op. cit.*, pp. 591. 596. 606. 667).   *Cf.* also the Cod. Or. Gaster. 151 described in PSBA **22**, 234.

שירת הכרם לישעיהו

I   1   אשירה־נא לידידי   שירת· כרמו
         כרם· לידידי   בקרן בן־שמן:

       2   ויעזקהו ויסקלהו   ויטעהו שרק
         ויבן מגדל·   וגם־יקב חצב־בו:

II   3   יושב ירושלם   ואיש יהודה
         שפטו־נא ביני   ובין כרמי:

       4   מה־לעשות עוד·   ולא עשיתי־בו
         קויתי לענבים   ויעש באשים:

III   5   אודיעה־נא אתכם   את־אשר־אני עשה·
         הסר משוכתו   והיה לבער·:

       6   ואשיתהו בתה   ולא יעדר·
         והעבים אצוה   מהמטיר עליו:

IV   7   כי־כרם יהוה·   בית ישראל
         ואיש יהודה   נטע שעשעיו

         ויקו למשפט   והנה משפח
         ויקו לצדקה   והנה צעקה:

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1 (a) ידידי   (b) היה   2 (c) בתוכו

2 (d) ויקו (לעשות) ענבים   ויעש באשים

3 (e) ותתן   4 לכרמי   (f) מדוע   (g) עשות   3 תתנה   (h) לכרמי

(k) פרץ גדרו   והיה למרמס:

6 (l) לא יזמר   (m) תעלה שמיר ושית   (n) על   (o) מטר   (p) צבאות

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE TEXT.

(1) 𝔐 נָא (cf. Gesen.²⁷, § 105, b, n. 3) in אָשִׁירָה־נָּא is enclitic; the preceding אָשִׁירָה should be accented on the ultima, not on the penult; so, too, אוֹדִיעָה־נָּא (v. 5), עָשִׂיתִי־בּוֹ (v. 4), חִצַּב־בּוֹ (v. 2).

𝔐 לִידִידִי does not mean *to my friend* (AV, *to* my well beloved; RV, *for* my well beloved) or *in honorem Dei quem maxime diligo cantabo* (Grotius). Nor can the prefixed לֹ be taken as the לֹ *auctoris* (cf. Bachmann's explanation cited below), although in v. 3 the friend to whom the vineyard belongs is introduced as the speaker. The preposition לֹ means here *of* (so RVᴹ), that is, *concerning*, as in Ps. 3, 3: רַבִּים אֹמְרִים לְנַפְשִׁי *Many there are who say of me* and in Gen. 20, 13: אִמְרִי־לִי אָחִי הוּא *Say of me, He is my brother*. This לֹ is not a popular shortening of אַל, as Duhm supposes; in his commentary on Ps. 3, 3 Duhm says, לְנַפְשִׁי is a poetic equivalent of עַל־נַפְשִׁי. Nor can we read, with Bachmann,* אַל־יְדִידִי (*haplography*). Cf. Gesen.²⁷, § 119, u.

𝔐 דּוֹדִי may be a misplaced variant to לִידִידִי in the first hemistich. 𝔖 has ܚܒܝܒܝ for both יְדִידִי and דּוֹדִי. 𝔐 דּוֹדִי is certainly not an abbreviation for דּוֹדִים (Lowth, Cheyne, Budde,† Marti, as an alternative); this parable is no love-ditty (contrast Crit. Notes on Isaiah, SBOT, p. 117, l. 37, and Ginsburg's *Introduction*, pp. 793. 820)· Cersoy points, שִׁירַת דּוֹדִי *my love-song*, and Marti is inclined to adopt this emendation as the simplest solution of the difficulty. Bachmann proposes to read שִׁירַת־דָּוִד = שִׁירָה לְדָוִד. According to Winckler, AoF (= *Altorientalische Forschungen*), 1, 341 (1896), the opening lines of the poem should be taken to mean: I will sing to my god a song of my god, concerning his vineyard. My god had a vineyard, &c. He believes that דִיד or דּוּד means δαίμων (Dido = ἡ δαίμων) and is inclined to substitute לְדוֹדִי or לִדִידִי for 𝔐 לִידִידִי in the first and third hemistichs of the opening couplet.

After the insertion of דּוֹדִי between שִׁירַת־כַּרְמִי it was necessary to prefix לֹ to כַּרְמוֹ (𝔊ⱽ τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου = לְכַרְמִי is influenced by glosses ζ and κ).

Omit 𝔐 הָיָה after כֶּרֶם; the vineyard still belongs to the friend; he tells the men of Judah in v. 5 what he purposes to do with it. The addition of הָיָה was probably suggested by כֶּרֶם הָיָה לְנָבוֹת in 1 K 21, 1; cf. my notes on Cant. 8, 11 (*The Book of Canticles*, p. 60 = HEBRAICA, 19, 6).

There is hardly any paronomasia between כֶּרֶם and קֶרֶן as Duhm supposes; ק and כ are entirely different consonants. Nor is this case recorded in Dr. Casanowicz's dissertation on Paronomasia in the OT (Boston, 1894). There is just as much assonance between

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* *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen* (Berlin, 1894), p. 64.
† *New World*, March 1893, p. 49.

כרם and שמן, viz. only one consonant and the vowels are identical.

Bachmann's emendation בקרב בי שמן and Cheyne's בקרב בן־שמן are not good. Nor need we read, with Kennedy, שמש instead of 𝔐 שמן; see, however, my remarks on בעל־המון, or rather בעל־חמון, in Cant. 8,11 (*The Book of Canticles*, p. 33, n. 3). In his *Critica Biblica* (London, 1903), p. 10, Cheyne proposes to read בקרב בני ישמעאל. The reference, Cheyne adds, is not to the Cimmerians but to the North Arabians. I prefer the received text. ܫ ܒܩܪܢܐ; cf. 𝔊 ἐν κέρατι, ἐν τόπῳ πίονι. 𝔐 בן־שמן is more poetic than the adjective שמן, but it is not chosen on account of the meter; בקרן שמן would have suited the meter just as well. Contrast my note on Cant. 1,6 in *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902), p. 31, n. 13 = HEBRAICA, 18, 221.

(2) For 𝔐 שׂרֵק cf. Jer. 2,21; Gen. 49,11 and Abulwalîd's explanation quoted in Gesenius' *Jesaia*, part 1 (Leipzig, 1821), p. 231 (repeated in his *Thesaurus*): هو اجود الكرم ويقال له السريق ويكون بالشام. 𝔊ᵀ (i. e., *Fragmenta rescripta Tischendorfiana Isaiae prophetae*) has ἄμπελον σωρηκ, 𝔍 electam, ܫ ܡܨܬܐ vines. A good German equivalent would be *rother Gutedel*.

Winckler, AoF 1, 350, proposes to read נח instead of מגדל; but cf. Mark 12,1.

𝔐 בתוכו is a superfluous scribal expansion.

The third במל of v. 3, 𝔐 ויעש(עשות)ענבים באשים ויקו ל, is a scribal expansion derived from the second במל of v. 4. Both there and in the present gloss 𝔐 עשות represents a subsequent addition; cf. ויקו למשפט (v. 7ᵉ) and 59,9. 11. 𝔍 inserts *ut faceret* not only in vv. 2. 4 but also in v. 7: *et expectavi ut faceret judicium*. The expression ויקו לעשות ענבים, without an indication of the different subject of עשות, is illogical; 𝔐 ויקו לעשות ענבים is generally supposed to mean, He (my friend) *expected that it* (the vineyard) *would bear grapes* (ܫ ܟܬܦܐ, ٮحٮم حٮقٮ); but this would require at least the insertion of לו, ויקו לו לעשות ענבים.

For ויעש באשים see my remarks in HEBRAICA, 19, 138, n. 20.

For באשים (𝔍 *labruscae*, French *lambrusque*) cf. Gesenius' *Jesaia*, part 1, p. 233; part 2, p. 364, and ZDPV 1888, p. 160 (cited by Marti).

(3) 𝔐 ועתה at the beginning of stanzas II and III (vv. 3. 5) is due to scribal expansion.

ܫ transposes 𝔐 יושב ירושלם and איש יהודה; cf. my remarks on the Syriac version of Ps. 1 in HEBRAICA, 19, 137, n. 16 and below, n. 5 of the Explanatory Notes on p. 201.

(4) 𝕸 לְכַרְמִי is a superfluous addition both here and at the end of the first מָשָׁל of stanza III (v. 5).

𝕸 מַדּוּעַ is a scribal expansion. Logically it does not belong to the first hemistich, but to the second: Why, when I had a right to expect good grapes, did it bear worthless, small, sour berries? so correctly ARV and Hendewerk (see above, p. 194, n. *), p. 133; contrast Ernst Meier (see above p. 194, n. ‖), p. 49.

For the insertion of עֲנָבִים in 𝕸 לַעֲשׂוֹת עֲנָבִים instead of לַעֲנָבִים see the note on gloss δ (v. 2).

(5) Omit 𝕸 וְעַתָּה as at the beginning of v. 3.

The rhythm of the second hemistich would perhaps be improved by transposing 𝕸 אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה; in this case we should have to read: אֲנִי אֶת־אֲשֶׁר עֹשֶׂה־אָנִי, אֲנִי being enclitic; cf. the notes on v. 1.

For 𝕸 מְשׂוּכָתוֹ read מְשׂוּכָתוֹ. 𝕾 has ܣܝܵܓܗ for 𝕸 just as in v. 2 for 𝕸 מִגְדָּל.

𝕸 פָּרֹץ גְּדֵרוֹ וְהָיָה לְמִרְמָס is a gloss (or variant) to the preceding מָשָׁל; it may have been suggested by Hos. 2,8. Cf. my notes on Cant. 3, 8. 10; 4, 14 (see my *Book of Canticles*, p. 23, n. 14; p. 49, n. 49), also my note on Ps. 45,16 in Hebraica, 19, 136.

(6) For 𝕸 בָּתָה point בַּתָּה, from בתת, Arab. بَتَّ to cut (قَطَعَ), vii to be cut off, decided, ended (اِنْقَطَعَ); Assyr. buttutu 'to end' (Delitzsch, HW 192ᵇ). Arab. قَطَعَ means also to exterminate, to annihilate; cf. Heb. נכרת and הִכְרִית, especially Gen. 41,36: תִכָּרֵת הָאָרֶץ בָּרָעָב. Bachmann proposes to read, following 𝕲 καὶ ἀνήσω τὸν ἀμπελῶνά μου, בדד (cf. 27,10).

𝕸 וְלֹא יֵעָדֵר is a scribal expansion of the following 𝕸; so, too, 𝕸 וְעָלָה שָׁמִיר וָשָׁיִת; cf. 7,23; 9,17; 10,17; 27,4. With the exception of 9,17 all those passages are post-Isaianic.

Bachmann proposes to read וְעָלוּ instead of 𝕸 וְעָלָה, following 𝕲ᵀ καὶ ἀναβήσονται (var. ἀναβήσεται), 𝕵 et ascendent vepres et spinae, 𝕾 ܘܢܣܩܘܢ ܒܗ ܟܘܒܐ ܘܕܪܕܪܐ; cf. Assyr. elû 'to grow up' (Delitzsch, HW 61ᵃ, 4). Bachmann thinks that שָׁמִיר וָשָׁיִת does not stand in the accusative (Ges.²⁷, § 117, z) but is the subject of עָלָה. The clause וְעָלָה שָׁמִיר וָשָׁיִת should therefore be translated, not: It shall shoot up in thorns and briars (so Cheyne in SBOT), but: There shall come up briars and thorns (so ARV). I believe, with Bachmann, that שָׁמִיר וָשָׁיִת is nominative, not accusative; but if the verbal predicate precedes the subject, the plural is not necessary; cf. Ges.²⁷, § 145, o. In Prov. 24,31 the meter requires not only the omission of the superfluous third hemistich כָּסּוּ פָנָיו חֲרֻלִּים (see SBOT *ad loc.*) but also the excision of כֻּלּוֹ, so that עָלָה קִמְּשֹׂנִים may be explained in the same way as עָלָה שָׁמִיר וָשָׁיִת, *i. e.* עָלָה may be verbal predicate to קִמְּשֹׂנִים. Prov. 24,30–34 must be read as follows:

30 עַל־שְׂדֵה אִישׁ־עָצֵל עָבָֽרְתִּי   וְעַל־כֶּרֶם אָדָם חֲסַר־לֵב׃

31 וְהִנֵּה עָלָה כֻּלּוֹ קִמְּשֹׂנִים[β]   וּגְדֵר אֲבָנָיו נֶהֱרָסָה׃

32 וָאֶחֱזֶה[γ] אָשִׁית לִבִּי   רָאִיתִי לָקַחְתִּי מוּסָר׃

33 מְעַט־שֵׁנוֹת מְעַט תְּנוּמוֹת   מְעַט־חִבֻּק יָדַיִם לִשְׁכָּב׃

34 וּבָא כִמְהַלֵּךְ רֵאשֶׁךָ   וּמַחְסֹרְךָ כְּאִישׁ מָגֵן׃

(α) 30 כֻּלּוֹ   (β) 31 כָּסוּ פָנָיו חֲרֻלִּים   (γ) 32 אַנֹכִי

Also in Is. 34,13 we had better read:

וְעָל"ה ב'אַרְמְנֹתֶיהָ סִירִים   קִמּוֹשׂ וָחוֹחַ בְּמִבְצָרֶיהָ

𝕸 וְעָלְתָה is due to וְהָיְתָה at the beginning of the following line. In Is. 32,13 תַּעֲלֶה is Hif'il (= תַּצְמִיחַ); cf. my remarks in my paper on The Beginning of the Judaic Account of Creation in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 17, 158 (1896).
Omission of 𝕸 עַל improves the rhythm.
𝕸 מוּסָר at the end of this verse is a superfluous scribal expansion.

(7) Syntactically כֶּרֶם יהוה is predicate, and בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל subject.
𝕸 צְבָאוֹת is scribal expansion. It is canceled also by Sievers.
𝕸 מִשְׂפָּח seems to be a corruption of מַשְׁחֵת = מִשְׁחָת (in Is. 52,14 it is better to read מָשְׁחַת instead of 𝕸 מִשְׁחַת); cf. Heb. הִשְׁחִית (דרך); Eth. ሰሐተ: sĕḥta, *to err, to sin*; ሰሕተት: sĕḥtat, *error, sin*; ሰሐጸ: saḥâṣa, *to hurt, to injure*; Syr. ﺴ̈ﺤﺘﺎ *corruption, destruction*; Arab. سحت suḥt, *corrupt practice, undue profit, unlawful gain* (اكتسب السحت). The מ instead of ת is due to the influence of the preceding ח, just as ס is not unfrequently changed into צ under the influence of an adjacent ח; cf. فسح = פָּסַח = Assyr. puššuxu, *to appease*, see note 60 of my paper on Babylonian elements in the Levitic Ritual (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, 19, 73) and KAT³ 610, n. 3. In the same way we might combine Heb. צָמַח *to sprout* with Assyr. šamâxu (Delitzsch, HW 669b). In Ges.-Buhl¹³, on the other hand, Assyr. šamâxu is combined with Heb. שָׂמַח *to rejoice* and Arab. شمخ *to be high* (علا وطال) or *to be proud* (شمخ بأنفه); cf. Lat. *lucus laetissimus umbrae*, &c., and l. 8 of the fifth tablet of the Babylonian Nimrod* Epic (p. 24 of my edition): ṭâbu ҫillašu ‖ malî rîšâti; cf. Delitzsch, HW 607b and Jensen's inaccurate translation in Schrader's KB 6, 161 (*ihr guter Schatten*

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* Cf. my remarks in the Critical Notes on Proverbs (SBOT), p. 33, l. 17. It might be well to state in this connection that I never believed that Nimrod was identical with the Kassite ruler Nazimaraddaš (see Cheyne-Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica*, 3418); I only suggested, nineteen years ago, that the name Nimrod might be a contraction of Nazimaraddaš; see my paper in the *Andover Review*, July, 1884, p. 94; cf. KAT³ 581.

ist voll 'Jauchzens;' this would be ẹillašu ṭâbu rišâti malî; ṭâbu is, of course, predicate to ẹillašu); *cf.* my remarks on Jensen's translations in my paper on The Beginning of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. **22**, p. 9; see also vol. **16**, p. cx, and Critical Notes on Proverbs (SBOT), p. 60, l. 39.

We might also read מְשֻׁחָד *bribery*, but מַשְׂחֵם is preferable; in the first place the paronomasia between מִשְׁפָּט and מַשְׂחֵם is more striking, and then the corruption of מַשְׂחֵם to מִשְׂפָּח is more easily explained: the last two consonants of מַשְׂחֵם were transposed, and שׂ was miswritten פ. Siegfried-Stade, *s. v.* מִשְׂפָּח, suppose that this word was coined by the prophet for the sake of the paronomasia with מִשְׁפָּט. Even if **JM** מִשְׂפָּח were correct, it could not mean *bloodshed*, although Arab. سقا means *shedding blood, tyrant* (سفم = اراق). For שֹׂפֵח we should expect شفم. Brown-Driver-Briggs, p. 705[b], thinks that the שׂ in מִשְׂפָּח was substituted for ס. Ges.-Buhl[13] compares مشفّم mušaffaḥ, *thwarted, unsuccessful; cf.* Assyr. sapâxu, *to annihilate, break up, destroy* (Delitzsch, HW 507[b]). In note 80 of his dissertation on Paronomasia in the OT (1894) Dr. Casanowicz suggested that מִשְׂפָּח might be a transposition of מַשְׂחֵף = Assyr. saxâpu, *to overthrow;* but we expect a word for *injustice, corruption* (**Ϭ** ἀνομία, **ϳ** *iniquitas*). Cheyne's מַזְרֵחַ is impossible.

Before **JM** לִצְדָקָה in the last line of the poem the rhythm requires the insertion of a verb, either וִיקַו, as in the preceding line, or וִיוֹחֵל, or וַיְיַחֵךְ, although this form does not occur in the OT.

It is not impossible that the original text read וּדְהֻבֵּה לְמַשְׂחֵם and וּדְהֻבֵּה לִצְעָקָה in the second hemistichs of the last two lines; *cf.* Hagg. 1,9: פָּנֹה אֶל־הַרְבֵּה וְהִנֵּה לִמְעָט; see note 3 of my lecture on the Book of Ecclesiastes in *Oriental Studies* (Boston, 1894), p. 264; *cf.* Ges.[27], § 143, e; § 114, i, note 1; Wright-de Goeje[3], **2**, 79.

This Isaianic poem may be translated as follows:

PARABLE OF THE VINEYARD.

I 1 I will sing of my friend, now,   a sóng of[α] his víneyard:[1]
     My friend has[β] a víneyard   on a spúr that is fértile.[2]

  2 He hóed it and cléared it,[3]   and plánted choice vínes[4] (there);
     He búilt (there)[γ] a tówer[5]   and héwed out[6] a wíne-vat.[6]

(α) 1 my dear one of   (β) had   (γ) 2 in the midst of it
(δ) 2 he lóoked for *it to bear* (choice) clústers,—it bóre sour bérries!

II 3 ‹Ye mén of Jerusalem,   freemen of Júdah!
      Be judges of my case⁷   and thát of my víneyard!

    4 Could áught have been dóneʕ   that Í did not dó there?
    η I lóoked forᶿ (choice) clusters,—   it bóre sour bérries!ⁱ

III 5 ‹I will gíve you to knów   what I púrpose to dó:κ
      Awáy with its hédges!   that cáttle may brówse there;ᴧ

    6 A wáste be it hénceforth,ᵠ   ᴍ no spáde ever délve it!ᵛ
    ᶠThe clóuds will I súmmon   to raín on it néver.ᵒ

IV 7 It is the vineyard of J'HVH,¹⁰ᵖ   the nátion of Ísrael,
      The freemen of Júdah,   His chérished plantátion.

    He lóoked for c o r r é c t n e s s,¹¹ but ló! c o r r ú p t n e s s!¹²
    He hóped for c á n d o r,¹³   but ló! there is c l á m o r!¹⁴

(ε) 3 and now (ζ) 4 with my vineyard (η) why (θ) it to bear (ι) 5 and now (κ) with my
(ᴧ) break dówn¹⁵ its wáll   that dówn it be trámpled!   [vineyard
(μ) 6 it shall not be pruned and   (ν) there shall shoot up thorns and briars
(ξ) on   (o) rain   (π) 7 Sabaoth

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

(1) This is the first line of the song. Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, following Ewald, *Propheten*², 1, 306, consider the second line to be the beginning of the poem; they think that the first line is a special introduction, but this view is erroneous.

(2) Lit., on a horn, the son of fatness, *i. e.*, the terraced slope of a mountain exposed to the sun, with rich fertile soil; *cf.* the Swiss *Matterhorn, Schreckhorn, Faulhorn*, &c., Lat. *cornu montis*, Greek κέρας τοῦ ὄρους. AVᴹ, the horn of the son of oil; but RVᴹ, a horn, the son of oil. Cf. *apertos Bacchus amat colles* (Virgil, *Georg.* 2, 113) quoted by Delitzsch and Orelli.

(3) Of stones, AV: gathered out the stones thereof; *solum elapidavit*, Pliny 17, 30.

(4) See above, p. 197 (2).

(5) *Cf.* Mark 12,1; Matt. 21,33: A certain man planted a vineyard, and set a hedge about it, and digged a place for the wine-vat, and built a tower. This is based on the Septuagintal rendering of our passage, 𝕲ᵛ καὶ φραγμὸν περιέθηκα καὶ ἐχαράκωσα, 𝔍 *et sepivit eam, et lapides elegit ex illa*, 𝕊, transposing the two terms, ܠܡ ܣܝܪܠܐ ܥܒܕܗ *he tilled it and made a fence around it.* AV translates therefore, *he fenced it*, or (in the margin) *he made a wall about it* instead of *he hoed it.* RV, *he made a trench about it* or (in the margin) *he digged it.* In the neighborhood of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, &c., there are in almost all the vineyards small round tower-like houses of stone, in which

implements are stored and the keepers housed. The owners live in them during the vintage. *Cf.* Dillmann-Kittel[6] (1898) *ad loc.*

(6) Wine-presses and vats, excavated in the solid rock, are common throughout Palestine; see the cut in the translation of Judges, in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 68.

(7) Supply, *says my friend. Cf.* 2 S 12,5; Matt. 21,40.

(8) There is nothing humorous in the second line of v. 4, as Duhm supposes. The prophet's friend (*i. e.* JHVH) says, I confidently expected good grapes, but my vineyard bore nothing but worthless, small, sour berries. I had a right to expect good grapes after all the trouble I had taken.

(9) *Cf.* Is. 7,23–25.

(10) Isaiah does not say, My friend is JHVH, and his vineyard is Israel; he simply states, It is the vineyard of JHVH, *i. e.*, the Israelitish nation.

(11) Correctness of life and conduct, rectitude, justice.

(12) Corruptness, especially of the judges and other persons in power.

(13) Candor = fairness, impartiality, honesty, righteousness.

(14) Loud complaint of injustice and urgent demand for justice; *cf.* Exod. 22,22; Gen. 4,10. Dr. Horace Howard Furness, to whom I am indebted for some valuable suggestions, proposes to render the last couplet:

He looked for reason,— but behold! treason;
For men loving duty,— but lo! those loving booty!

This last line might be used for the translation of the last but one line of the Hebrew text. The last line of the poem might be rendered:

He looked for right,— but behold riot!

(so Dr. Marcus Jastrow). We might also use *justice* and *injustice*, *honesty* and *dishonesty;* but *correctness* and *corruptness, candor* and *clamor* seem to me preferable.

(15) The Hebrew text uses the infinitive: (I purpose) to break down; so, too, in the preceding double-hemistich, Away with its hedges = (I purpose) to do away with its hedge.

THE FIRST AND SECOND PERSONS IN SUMERIAN.

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The agglutinative character of the Sumerian has long been recognized by such scholars as have refused to accept the untenable theory of Halévy,[1] who, no doubt instigated by mistaken feelings of Semitic race-sentiment, still believes that the cuneiform non-Semitic texts were not written in a language distinct from Assyro-Babylonian, but in an "ideophonic" cryptographic system of priestly-scribal invention.

It is not my purpose to enter at length in the present paper into a refutation of a position which so able an authority as Friedrich Delitzsch[2] has been compelled to abandon, owing to the overwhelming mass of evidence in favor of the linguistic nature of Sumerian. It may be stated here, however, that the presence of undoubted Semitic loan-words and even loan-forms, like the negative la in Sumerian,[3] is no more a reasonable argument against the non-Semitic character of that idiom than the frequent occurrence of more or less disguised Arabic and Persian words and forms in Osmanli Turkish[4] can be against the Ural-Altaic origin of the latter language. It would be an easy matter, following Halévy's methods, to demonstrate that Osmanli has no real existence as an Ural-Altaic agglutinative idiom, but is an arbitrary conglomerate speech based on corrupted Semitic and Iranian elements.

One of the chief points made by the anti-Sumerists has been the indefinite character of the Sumerian grammatical system, and,

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[1] Halévy, JA., Vol. VII, sér. 3 (1874), pp. 461 sqq.; "La prétendue langue d'Accad est-elle touranienne?" Comptes rendus, Vol. IV., sér. 3, p. 477; Vol. IV, sér. 3, pp. 128, 130; JA., Vol. VII, sér. 7, pp. 201 sqq. Also his book, Recherches critiques sur l'origine de la civilisation babylonienne, Paris, 1876. See Weissbach, Die sumerische Frage, p. 183, for further references.

[2] Hwb., p. iv; Entstehung des ältesten Keilschriftsystems, p. 11.

[3] La as a negative occurs in Sumerian IV. 15, 1; 3; 30; 33 a. Cf. Zb. 71.

[4] What Arab, for example, familiar only with his own language, would recognize the Osmanli combination ilimdâr, "a learned man," from Arabic علم, pronounced 'ôlm + the Persian دار; or tevekkûl, "trust in God," for توكل؟

owing to this fact, the charge has actually been made that it would be impossible to read a non-Semitic text intelligently without the aid of an Assyrian translation! Such an idea, of course, degrades the "cryptogram" to the position of a mere imperfect system of mnemonic suggestion, depending on the reader's memory of the original Assyrian text; in short, to something little better than the tally sticks of our own Cree Indians or the mnemonic wampum strings of the Passamaquoddies of northeastern America.[5] The object of the present paper is to demonstrate as briefly as possible the peculiar Sumerian method of expressing the first and second persons, which, as will be shown, is done with quite as much clearness as in other primitive languages.[6] Throughout this article, I indicate the "Classical Sumerian" by the abbreviation EK. (= Eme-Ku) and the Eme-Sal by ES.

§ 1. The Sumerian pronominal elements may be divided into two classes; viz., those which are determinative with respect to person and those which are not. The fundamental principle of first and second personal differentiation seems to be the occurrence in the text of some determinative word or construction. Thus we may find: (1) a determinative pronoun of the first or second person; (2) a vocative; (3) a context which leaves no room for doubt as to the person intended by the writer. If none of these determining factors are present, it is understood that the verb is in the third person. The vast majority of verbal prefixes are indeterminate as to their personal force (see below, §§ 13 *sqq.*). Whenever we find a construction in the first or second person which has apparently no determinative word to indicate the person, this occurs, in every case which I have examined, in a mutilated text, where it may reasonably be supposed that the determinative element has been broken off.

§ 2. The determinative 1 p. pronoun in Sumerian common to both dialects is má-e (perhaps read gá-e in EK.? See HAS. 537, 36; ZK., i, 314; ZA., i, 192; HT. 139, § 1). Má-e is characteristically 1 p., and, in the texts which I have studied, never denotes any other person. Its use as a separable pronoun *passim* is well known. Thus, IV. 19, 52 *b:* má-e e-ri-za

[5] See my article on this subject, "The Passamaquoddy Wampum Records," in *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 480.

[6] *Cf.* also Bertin's paper on this same subject, *JRAS.*, new series, Vol. XVII (1885), pp. 65 *sqq.:* "Notes on the Assyrian and Akkadian Pronouns."

ú-gul-an-ma-ma = anâku aradki utnênki, "I thy (fem.)
servant beseech thee." It occurs in IV. 7, 30 a, as an apparently
ethical dative infix: nin-má-e ni-zu-a-mu ú za-e in-má-e-
zu = ša anâku îdû atta tîdî, "what I know, thou (also)
knowest for me" (see § 28). This is the only sentence where
I can find such a usage.

§ 3. Evidently connected etymologically with má-e is the
very common 1 p. suffix -mu, found with nouns and with verb-
nouns. This -mu may be subjective or objective. It is subjective,
for example, IV. 7, 30 a: nin-má-e ni-zu-a-mu = ša anâku
îdû, "what I know," although in this passage -mu may be the
relative -mu, accidentally indicating the 1 p. (see § 32). In
II. 19, 46 b: lugal-mu = bêliku, "I am lord" (perm.), there
can be no doubt as to the first personal character of the -mu. It
is objective, V. 21, 26 a: ki-ta-mu = šuppilanni, "bow me
down" (imper.). This -mu of the 1 p., undoubtedly cognitive
with má-e, must not be confused with the relative suffix -mu
described below (§ 32), which may and does indicate all three
persons indifferently. This latter -mu and the indeterminate
prefix mu- (§ 32) are probably etymologically identical. Here
I am practically forced to adopt the theory of original difference
of voice-tone in Sumerian[7] which must have been necessary, not
only to distinguish between the two totally different *mu*-elements,
but also between the great variety of monosyllabic stems which
apparently had the same sound value. In modern Pekingese-
Chinese there are four such distinguishing tones, while in the
Chinese-Cantonese dialect the number of tones mounts to eight!
It is true that the Chinese tones are not used to denote differ-
ences of grammatical relation, but only to indicate differences in
word-meaning. Thus, it would not be possible in Chinese to
have two grammatical elements identical in sound value pro-
nounced with different tones, of which one variation could be the
sign of the 1 p., for example, and the other of the 2 or 3 p. (like
mu = 1 p. in Sum. and mu = all three persons).[8] I am credibly
informed, however, that such a phenomenon actually occurs in
the Yóruba language of Equatorial Africa, where the same gram-
matical ending denotes a difference of person according to its

[7] Paul Haupt, *Sfg.*, p. 19, n. 6, as early as 1879 suggested a difference of "accent" in
pronouncing Sumerian syllables. Bertin advanced a similar theory in *PSBA.*, Vol. V
(1882–83), pp. 19 *sqq.*

[8] My authority on this point is Professor Friedrich Hirth, professor of Chinese in
Columbia University.

tone pronunciation.[9] I cite this, not of course with the intention of connecting Sumerian with Yóruba (!), but simply to demonstrate the linguistic possibility of toned grammatical elements. In Yóruba ile re = "thy house," but ile rè (another tone) = "his house;" o = "thou" and ó = "he, she, it." The dialectic (ES.) form of m u = 1 p. is má, IV. 21, 17 b: su-má = zumriịa, "my body;" *ibid.* 15 b: šu-má = qâtiịa, "my hand." Also ma, IV. 21, 20 b: i-de bar-ra-ma = burmi êniịa; V. 52, 44 b: ma-ra-ta = iâti. It should be noted here that ni in a few passages = 1 p. suffix. *Cf.* K. 4931, obv. 17: ám-lá-a-ni = çamdaku and IV. 19, 52 b: = çandaku, "I am yoked" (*cf. Br.* 5334), although the usual force of ni is that of the 3 p. (*Br.* 5330–32). Amiaud believed that the ni was the third personal ending for animates and bi for inanimates, but such a supposition is not justified by the facts (contrary to Hommel, *Sum. Lesestücke*, p. 100).

§ 4. Besides the above mentioned regular methods of expressing the first person, there are a number of more unusual forms which are worthy of note here. Thus, the suffix eneše appears II. 16, 25 b in an apparently first personal sense: ti-il-ba-ab-xi-en-e-še = gummuranni, probably, "he has perfected me," although the inscription is very difficult. But eneše in II. 16, 41 e = 1 p. pl.: a-na-ám ni-zu-un-ne-en-e-še = minammi nîdî, "how shall we know?"[10] The ending -ku = anâku, V. 20, 57 a, an equation which must mean that ku may *occasionally* mean anâku, because -ku also = atta, V. 27, 35 ab. This may have been a differently toned ku from that of the 1 p., which is found, for example, I. 17, 32: en-ku = bêlaku, "I am lord" (perm.). This ku = 1 p. may have been a cognate of ma-e (=gá-e). It can hardly have been a Semitic loanword owing to the equation with atta. In Sc. 4, 10, where we find mên = anâku this must also be understood to mean that mên *may* mean anâku. I have pointed out below that

[9] My informant is Mr. Jays, a medical missionary of the Church of England from the Haussa and Yóruba territories, who is well acquainted with the Yóruba language. See also S. Crowther, *Grammar of the Yóruba Language* (1852), p. 12.

[10] If the text is correct, eneše undoubtedly = 3 p. in the curious riddle in II. 16, 48-50 ab: ...ná al-pêš-a ...bu (?) kú-da-a-ni xu (?) kir-ri-en-e-še = ina lâ nâkimî êrat me ina lâ akâli me kabrat, "Without a heaper who becomes pregnant? Without eating who becomes fat?" The answer (not given) was probably urpatu or urpitu, a cloud. For me interr. instead of mannu, see Jäger, *BA.*, Vol. II, p. 277. I regard nâkimi-i as the participle of nakamu, "heap up," *i. e.*, "fertilise sexually + the interr. vocalic lengthening, contrary to Jäger.

mên, the verb "to be" is used indeterminately for all three persons (§ 71).

§ 5. There are several determinative words for the 1 p. pl.; viz., an-ne-en, en-ne-en, in-ne-en, me-en-ne-en (= mên-mên) un-ne-en, all of which = nînu, "we," 81–8–30, iii. 3 *sqq.* I believe that these are all variants from an original me (an-me-en, etc.), cognitive with má-e and distinct from mên, "to be." This me of the 1 p. is seen in AL.³ 91, B: ki-me-ta = ittini, "with us," and in me-en-ne = nînu, "we," HT. 119, obv. 24 (see above, § 4, on eneše).

§ 6. The determinative 2 p. pronoun in Sumerian common to both dialects is za-e,[11] which, in the texts which I have studied, is characteristic of the 2 p. and never denotes any other person except once, evidently erroneously (see below in this paragraph). It appears as a 2 p. even more frequently than does má-e for the 1 p. Thus, subjectively *passim*, IV. 17, 45 *a:* za-e al-du-un-na-aš = atta ina alâkika, "when thou goest," and objectively, HT. 115, obv. 13 (ES.): dim-me-ir damal-bi ki-bi šá-dib-ba za-e gú-de-a-bi = îlušu ištaršu zinû ittišu išassuki kâši, "his god (and) his goddess are angry with him; they speak to thee." I find also za-e with postpositional inflection, as in za-e-na = ela kâti (îlim ul îsi), "besides thee there is no god." In K. 4612 (HAS. xxxii.), za-e-ra = ana kašâma, "unto thee." In one passage I find za-e used for má-e, clearly owing to a *lapsus calami* on the part of the Assyrian scribe; viz., AL.³, 136, rev. 7 (ES.): kur-kur-ra DUR gal-bi-ne-me-en za-e giš si-mar-bi-ne-me-en ár-ri-mu = ša šadê dûršunu rabû anâku šigaršunu rabû anâku tanadâtûa, "I am the great wall of the mountains; I am their great bolt. The glory is mine." The curious reduplicated form zi-zi is probably a by-form of za-e = kâša, IV. 17, 38 *a:* dingir lú gál-lu tu-ra-ni-ku šu-bar zi-zi-de gír-e-eš ša-ra-da-gub = amêlu aššu mârišu kâša ašriš izzazka, "the man for the sake of his son, who is left in the lurch, humbly stands before thee" (= zi-zi-de). Šu-bar = ša umdašir, not expressed in Assyrian; *cf.* Tig. vi. 98, said of palaces. So far as I am aware, this point with respect to zi-zi and šu-bar has never been explained before.

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[11] Any attempt to connect máe and zae with Turkish ben and sen, "I" and "thou," is futile. Hommel suggested this, *Gesch.*, pp. 248, 249.

§ 7. The 2 p. suffix -zu cognitive with za-e is used, like
-mu from má-e, with nouns and with verb-nouns, both subjec-
tively and objectively. Thus, with nouns: IV. 13, 28 b: uku-
zu = nišika, "thy people," and *passim*. With verbs subjectively,
AL.' 134. obv. 3: gub-ba-zu-ne = ina uzuziki, "when thou
standest;" objectively: HT. 122, obv. 12 (ES.): umun-mu šá
çi-ib-ba ka sar-ra šub-ba-a-zu sux-a-mu dug-ga = bêl-
tum ina zurub libbi rigme zarbiš addiki, axulapịa
(qibi), "O my lady in woe of heart mournfully I address plaints
to thee (= šub-ba-a-zu), tell me how long?" The dialectic
form of zu is za, as in IV. 19, 52 b: e-ri-za = aradki, "thy
(fem.) servant;" *cf.* HAS. 38, obv. 12: za-da nu-me-a = ina
bâlika, "without thee." Zu is given V. 25, nr. 5, 15–32 =
ku-(um-mu), "thine;" *cf.* za-a-kit = kummu, IV. 29, 31 a
and HT. 98, 58: za-a-xe, where xe may be a textual error for
kit, the sign of the genitive.

§ 8. It will be noticed in the case of zu and mu that the
so-called postpositive conjugation is usually a *ḫal*-clause or a
subordinate clause of some sort, dependent on the following
finite form with the prefixed conjugation. I believe that this
subordinate relationship was the main function of the post-
positive conjugation, a theory which will demand a special treat-
ment in a subsequent article.[12] The equation, K. 4225 dupl. 18 d:
íb (TUM) = atta, like the equations of the 1 p. mentioned
above, § 4, must have meant that íb might be equivalent to the
2 p. under certain circumstances. I cannot explain LI = atta,
V. 20, 58 a except by a similar supposition (see ZK. i. 315 n. i.).

§ 9. In IV. 19, 53, 54 a, the following sentence requires discus-
sion: za-e láx-ga-ta sag-kúl-sud-da an-na-ta ki nin-
dagal-la-ku ši-ne-ne i-nam-ma = attâma nûršunu ša
kippât samê ruqûtum ša êrçitim rapaštum digilšina
attâma, "thou art their light; of the bounds of the distant
heavens, of the broad earth their observed one art thou." Here
inamma is apparently equivalent to attâma (*cf.* ZK. i. 202),
but I do not regard inamma as a distinctive form for "thou."
Nam is probably the same stem as nam = šimtu, "decision,"
Sc. 58; V. 39, 21 e; V. 11, 8 d. This is the same nam from
which abstracts are formed, *cf.* nam-gaba = iptiru, Sfg. 8.
Za-e .... i-nam-ma, therefore, belong together and probably

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[12] Haupt regarded the postpositive conjugation as the older form (HT. 145, § 20).

mean "thou art established," although nam does not appear else-
where as a verb. *Cf. s. v.* nam-tar, *Br.* 381. The i-prefix
here is probably merely the indeterminate prefix, although it
has been found hitherto used only with the 2 p. (see below, § 46).

§ 10. Like the 1 p. pl., the 2 p. pl. was represented by a variety
of determinative words. These are all given V. 27, nr. 5, 6–14:
ab-çi-en, an-çi-en, en-çi-en, íb-çi-en, ib-çi-en, in-çi-
en, me-çi-en (81-8-30, iii. 3), me-en-çi-en, and un-çi-en =
attunu, "ye." In all these forms, we have the element çi-en,
probably cognate with za-e. In IV. 21, 1 B., rev. 3, za-e-me-
en = attunu. This is clearly a combination of za-e and me-
en, the verb "to be" (see § 71). The ending zu-ne-ne is very
puzzling. It is evidently the characteristic suffix of the 2 p. pl.;
cf. AL.² 91, B.: ki-zu-ne-ne-ta = ittikunu, "with you;"
mux-zu-ne-ne-ta = êlikunu, "on you," but it occurs in the
difficult passage, IV. 21, 1 b, as the apparent equivalent of the
Assyrian -šunu, "their:" á(ID)-zu-ne-ne = ina ídišunu,
"in their hands," and *ibid.*, 14 b: nam-sag-ga-zu-ne-ne =
ina rišišunu, "on their heads." Also *ibid.*, 10, 11; 12, 13.
It is possible that this was originally intended to be a general
2 p. "you" = "one," and was accordingly translated by the
Assyrian scribe in the 3 p., following the Semitic idiom (see
below, § 20, *s. v.* ba-). An impersonal singular is not infre-
quently found in Sumerian, where the interlinear Assyrian ver-
sion has the plural, *e. g.*, IV. 4, 28 b: ni-nuna tur-azagâ-ta
mun-tuma = ximêta ša ištu tarbaçi êlli ublûni, "cream
which someone (*i. e.*, they) brought from a clean stable" (Haupt,
AJSL., Vol. XIX, p. 136). In a number of modern languages
we find a 3 p. used as the ordinary polite 2 p. pronoun : Germ.,
sie ("they"); Dan., *de* ("they"); Ital., *lei* or *ella* ("she"), and
in modern Hebrew usage הַרְגֵּשׁ כְּאֵב הֵיזֶה , "what sort of pain
do you feel?" where הַרְגֵּשׁ is in the 3 p., construed with an
unexpressed אַתָּה (Rosenberg, *Hebr. Conversationsgrammatik*,
p. 89, and below, § 20). In Sumerian, simple -zu = 2 p. pl.,
IV. 14, 13 b: i-ge a-a-zu = ina maxar abikunu, "before
your father;" *ibid.*, 15 b: i-ge ama-zu = ina maxar ummi-
kunu, "before your mother."

§ 11. Instances of a vocative determining the Sum. 2 p. are
very numerous, as will be seen from the succeeding paragraphs;
cf. IV. 20, nr. 2, obv. 3–4, where the 2 p. refers to a vocative in

ibid., 1 (see § 34).   In HT. 125, 15: dim-me-ir ki-a tik-ka
mu-un-si-si-eš = iláni ša êrçitim ana šisitika ušqa-
mamma, "the gods of the earth stand erect at thy utterance,"
the 2 p. is not expressed in Sumerian, but was evidently under-
stood by the Assyrian scribe.   This inscription is mutilated and
probably contained a determining element which has disappeared.

§ 12. The Bêlit-inscription, K. 257 (HT. 126–131) seems
to be an instance of a more or less connected context plainly
showing that the verbs in the hymn must all be construed in the
1 p.   The beginning of this poem, which probably contained a
determinative 1 p., is unfortunately mutilated.   In 33 obv., how-
ever, we find dug-ga-mu = qibítiịa, "my word," where the
-mu is clearly the distinctive 1 p. suffix.

The principles of personal differentiation will be more readily
understood from the following treatise on the indeterminate
verbal prefixes.

THE VERBAL PREFIXES.

§ 13. From a few simple phonetic elements; viz., a, e, i, u, b,
d, g, x, l, m, n, r, š, z, the Sumerian has evolved a multiplicity
of verbal prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, of which more than 260
combinations are possible.   There are fifty-two simple verbal
prefixes: a, ab*, aba, al*, an*; ba*, bab*, ban*; dan*;
ga*, gan*; xa, xar, xe, xêm, xên, xi, xu; i, íb*, im,
in*, iz; lá; ma, man*, me, mi, min*, mu*, mun*;
na*, nam, nan*, nê, nêb, nên*, ni*, nu*; rab*, rada,
radan; ša, šim, šin*, šu; ú, ub*, um, ume (umeni,
umunni), un*; zu.   Those indicated by asterisks in the
above list are found also used as infixes in combinations with
other prefixes.   The following elements are pure infixes and
suffixes and are never used as prefixes: ámmá, bi, da, dab,
darab, dib, e (ene, engan, eri, ešib), i, ma, mab,
me, mi, nab, nib, nin, ra, ramun, ran, randa, ri,
rib, ši, šib, ta.   With the exception of i, the infixes are of
twofold character, *i. e.*, (*a*) modal, modifying the meaning of
the verb-form (da, reflexive and durative; e, probably cor-
roborative; ra, denoting motion; and ta, reflexive and indi-
cating a stative or *hal*-clause), and (*b*) objective; viz., deno-
ting the incorporated verbal object.   The objective infixes are as
follows: da*, dab*, dan*, dib, man, me*, min, mun*,
nab*, nan*, nešin, ni, nib*, nin*, rab*, ran*, rib*,

ši*, and šin*. Those indicated by an asterisk may denote the
first or second or both first and second personal object, as well as
the third personal object. Infixes like ma in imma and na in
munna are properly part of the prefix and have no infixed objective
force. I as an infix is probably merely the vocalic prolongation
of xi- (see §45). Ámmá, bi, mab, mê (mên) and apparently
šib are properly suffixes while mu and zu are both prefixes and
suffixes.

FIRST AND SECOND PERSONAL PREFIXES.

§ 14. All the prefixes just cited, except xi, i, rab, umunni,
and zu, may indicate the third personal subject, but the follow-
ing of the above-mentioned prefixes may denote, as hereinafter
indicated, the first and second personal subject as well as the
third personal subject, viz.: a (1 and 3), ab, aba, al, an (2 and
3), ba, bab (2 and 3), ban (2 and 3), ga, xe (2 and 3), xu
(2 and 3), íb (2 and 3, but 1 in combination with ne-; ne-ib),
im, in (2 and 3), iz, mi (2 and 3), mun, na (2 and 3), nam,
nan (2 and 3), ne, ni (2 and 3), nu, ši (1 and 3), šin (2 and
3), ú, um (2 and 3), umeni (2 and 3). The prefixes xi, i,
rab, umunni, and zu are employed to denote the second person
exclusively. The following exposition will demonstrate the use
of these prefixes more satisfactorily.

§ 15. A as first person: HT. 123, rev. 1 (ES.): Umun-mu
šu á (ID)-lal-bi-ne u-ki a-ra-ab-tag-tag = bêltum qatá
kašâma aptašilki, "O my Lady, my hands are bound, yet
(u-ki) I implore thee" (pašâlu "implore"?). Also IV. 10, 7
b: ama-dagal-mu ner-bi mu-un-su-ub mu-un-su-ub
.... a-ra-ab-tag-tag = ša ištarḭa šepâ-(ša unaššiqma
apta)-ši-il, "I kiss the foot of my goddess (and) I implore."
A as a prefix does not appear with the 2 p., but -a has imper.
force in IV. 17, 55 a: gar (ŠA)-bi ku-a sigišše-sigišše-
ra-na = akalšu akul niqâšu muxurma, "eat his food;
accept his sacrifices." It will be noticed that in these examples
the 1 p. is indicated by the unmistakable noun-suffix -mu, "my,"
and in the case of the imper. the 2 p. is denoted by the vocative
Šamaš in a passage which lack of space forbids me to quote.
Note that a(a-a-u) = atta, V. 22, 70 ad, and anâku, ibid. 69;
cf. V. 27, nr. 5, 16: a = anâ(ku). For a in the 3 p. passim,
see Br., p. 548. The element ID = á, cited in the grammatical
table, V. 20, nr. 1, has probably no connection with the prefix a.

§ 16. Ab as 1 p.: II. 16, 34 *bc:* dura-a-na-me-en anšu-mul-ku ab-lal-e GIŠ GAR šu-gi-me-na-nam ab-el-el-e-en = agalaku (ša) ana parê çandaku narkabta šaddaku(?) azab(bal), "I am a heifer; with mules I am yoked; the wagon I draw: I lift it up(?)."[13] Here ab indicates the 1 p. This is one of a number of extremely difficult bilingual proverbs in II. R. 16. Ab is undoubtedly 2 p. in IV. 14, 12–13 *b*: e-gíg-gíg-ga láx ab-gá-gá = ina bît êklîti nûra tašakkan, "into the house of darkness thou bringest light," pointing back to a voc. Gibil in 10 *b*. In IV. 29, 7 *b*: za-e ab-di-bi-me = attama mušallim, "thou art the preserver," we have the pron. expressed. The suffix -ab has imper. force, HT. 115, rev. 3: šu-te-ma-ab = liqê, "accept thou," pointing to the 2 p. za-e-na = êla kâti, "except thee," in rev. 3. Ab may also denote the 3 p. *passim, Br.*, p. 538. The element ab appears also in ab-çi-en = attunu, "ye," V. 27, nr. 5, 12 (see § 10).

§ 17. Aba occurs as 1 p. only[14] in the difficult ES. text K. 257; HT. 127, 37 obv.: sag-ga a-ba-ni-in-láx = qaqqadu amsi, "I washed (my) head." As this entire hymn is unmistakably couched in the 1 p., aba here must have this force. Aba is 2 p., HT. 88, 48: a-ba-ni-kešda(SAR) = rukussuma, "bind ye it," where the imper. would be evident from the context. The inscription consists of directions for a charm. Aba in the 3 p. usually means "who?" (IV. 26, 56 *a*), or has an optative signification. Thus, HT. 98, 49: a-ba-ni-in-gub = lizziz, "may he stand," where aba is probably a corruption of the opt. xaba; also IV. 12, 33 rev.: a-ba-ni-in-dê = lixalliq, "may he destroy." In HT. 76, 13: sag-sar a-ba-ši-in-na-ak = itta'idma, we have a genuine simple 3 p. for aba, which is unusual; *cf. Br.*, p. 548. Note that aba = arki, "behind," in ES.; HT. 126, rev. 39, but this is probably a different word, perhaps with a different tone, from aba = mannu; also in ES., *ibid.*, 65 obv.

§ 18. Al as 1 p.; HT. 126, rev. 39: i-de-šu al-dim = ina maxri allakma, "I will go before;" a-ba-šû al-di-di = arki allakma, "I will go behind." Here al is in harmony with the 1 p. of the rest of the hymn (see § 12). Al is seen as

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[13] *Cf.* for this text also Jäger, *BA.*, Vol. II, p. 285.

[14] When I use the word "only" here and elsewhere, I, of course, mean within my own experience.

2 p.: IV. 17, 45 *a:* za-e al-du-un-na-aš = atta ina alâkika, "thou in thy course." Here za-e makes the 2 p. clear. Al is also a common prefix of the 3 p., *Br.*, p. 544. For postpositive -al denoting the 3 p., *cf.* V. 52, 44 *b* (ES.): ma-ra-ta ma-ma-al = iâti minu iššakna, "what can befall me?"

§ 19. An is 2 p., IV. 10, 35 *b:* u-mu e-ri-zu na-an-gur-ri-en = bêlum aradka la tasakip, "O Lord, do not overthrow thy servant" (see ZK. i. 216, 300), where we have an, following neg. na, the vocalic variant of nu. In this case nu becomes na, owing to the following an. An appears as a 2 p. suffix, IV. 9, 11 *b* (ES.): u-e an-na na-am-u-e ki-a na-am-nêr-ra dim-me-ir šeš-zu-ta gaba-ri nu-tuk-an = bêlum ina šamê belûtu ina êrçitim etillûtu ina ilâni atxika mâxiri ul tîši, "as a lord in the heavens, for lordship on earth, for pre-eminence among the gods thy brethren, thou hast no rival." *Cf.* also HT. 122, obv. 18: tik-zu gur-an-ši-ib = kišadki suxxiršumma, "turn thy neck." In both instances the 2 p. is indicated by the determinative -zu. Note that -an is seen in an-çi-en = attunu, "ye," V. 27, 58. An also occurs in an-ne-en = nînu, "we," 81–8–30, col. iii. 3 *sqq.* An is one of the most usual prefixes of the 3 p., *Br.*, p. 532.

§ 20. Ba occurs as 1 p., IV. 14, obv. 20 *a:* ki-bi-gar-ra ba-ni-ib-dur-ru = ina takulti lušêšib, "(the wife and child of the god Zu) I will invite to a feast." There is no indication that this is a 1 p. in the text except the Assyr. lušêšib. Lines 1–18 obv. are mutilated, so that lušêšib may be 3 p. On the other hand, a distinguishing 1 p. pron. may have occurred in the broken lines. Ba appears after ga-, IV. 30, nr. 3, rev. 19: ê-a ga-ba-gub = ina bîti luzziz, "may I stand in the house." Ba is common as a 2 p. prefix; *cf.* IV. 17, 45 *a:* sag-gig-ga si ba-ni-ib-si-di-e = çalmat qaqqadi tuštêšir, "thou shalt rule the people of the black heads," where the 2 p. is shown by the preceding suffix -zu. In this passage si is a reduplication of the root si-di = ešêru, "rule." In IV. 30, nr. 3, rev. 15 *sqq.*, we find a series of verb-forms with ba- and -ne or -n as the ending, all of which are translated by the 2 p. in Assyrian. If we had to read the Sumerian without the Assyrian, we should interpret the verb-forms as 3 p. pl., which they really are. The Assyrian, however, changed them to the 2 p.; thus, *ibid.* 15–16: nam-ba-gub-bu-ne = lâ tattanamzaz; 17–18:

nam-ba-nigin-e-ne=lâ tassanaxxar; 19–20: nam-ba-ab-
bi-en=la taqabbi. These second persons here are probably
similar in character to the general "you" in English; German,
man; French, *on.*[15] Ba appears as a very usual prefix of the 3 p.,
Br., pp. 529 *sqq.* Ba seems also to have a great functional lati-
tude; thus it appears for the verb-noun, II. 15, 41 *c:* ba-ni-a-
ta=ina nasâxi; IV. 12, 15: ba-dug-ga-es = tâba, etc. It
represents the permansive; IV. 5, 65 *a:* ba-gub-ba = u-zuz-
zu; IV. 15, 21 *a:* ba-u-tu-ud-da-a-meš = 'aldu; *cf.* umeni-
utu = aldu, IV. 28, 48 *a.* Ba stands for the present, IV. 17,
27 *a:* ba-dib-bi-en = tušaxxaz, and for the preterite, V. 25,
16 *a:* ba-bat = im-tut.

§ 21. Bab, the reduplicated form of ba, represents the 2 p.
V. 20, 36 *c.:* bab-tum = ublam, "bring thou." On nam-
bab-bi-en IV. 30, nr. 3, rev. 19, see § 34. In IV. 13, 28 *b*, we
find a curious and inexplicable use of bab, that of prohibitive
negation.[16] Thus, uku(UN)-zu gir-zu ba-ab-si-si-(gi) =
ana šêp nišika ê tattašpak, "at the foot of thy people pour
it not out(?)." The 2 p. is indicated by -zu. Bab is also a
frequent prefix of the 3 p., *Br.,* p. 530. In II. 16, 25 b, bab as
a postpositive may = 3 p.: ti-il-ba-ab-xi-en-e-še = gum-
muranni (see § 4).

§ 22. Ban, the nasalized ba, denotes the 2 p., HT. 121, obv.
6: kur-kur-ra sar-ra-bi ( ) tul-da-aš ba-an-mar =
kiššât dadmêšu tilâniš šupuk, "heap together all his
dwellings like ruins." The address is to a goddess whose name
has disappeared in the mutilated lines. Note that in IV. 19,
35 *b*, ban-mar with a different context is equivalent to ittaš-
kan, 3 p. This admirably illustrates the indifference with regard
to person with which the Sum. verbal prefixes were used. Ban
might also be used postpositively. For ban as a third personal
element, see *Br.,* p. 530. Ban = ba + nu appears as a negative,
IV. 10, 60 *a:* er(A-SI)-ra mu-un-šeš-šeš á(ID)-e-mu
ba-an-te-ni = abkîma itatêia ul idxû, "I wept (and)
they approached not my side" (Zb. 11). See § 64, *s. v.* ran.

§ 23. Ga is the very frequent optative element of the 1 p.
Thus, HT. 87, 15 *sqq.:* ud-diš ga-ba-da-an-kû, ud-diš
ga-ba-da-an-nák, ud-diš ga-ba-da-an-ná, ud-diš ga-

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[15] See above, § 10.
[16] Negative bab here may be an error for ban = ba + nu; § 22.

ba-da-an-ni, xe-im-ma-an-gaba-a = šatamma lûkul
šatamma luštî šatamma luçlal šatamma luštrabrî lû
tapaṭṭar, "whensoever I may eat; whensoever I may drink;
whensoever I may sleep ; whensoever I am satisfied ; O make it
free from sin!" In HT. 119, obv. 22, we find ga used for the
1 p. pl.: ga-nu ga-ni-láx-en ga-ni-láx-en = alkam î
nillikšu î nillikšu, "come, let us go to him; let us go to
him." I find ga as 2 p. in only three passages; viz., ga-nu =
alkam, just cited; IV. 11, 45 b: en-nun ga-ne-tuš(KU) =
ana maçarti tûšêšib, "thou shalt sit on the watch" (but also
ûšib!); AL.³ 134, obv. 1: an-sud ud-ag bíl-gim sar-ki-ta
za-e ši-in-ga-me-en bíl = nûr šamê ša kîma išâtim
ina mâtim napxat attîma, "as the light of the heavens
which is like fire in the land thou shinest." For the unusual
ga of the 3 p., see Br., p. 545.

§ 24. Xe like ga is a cohortative prefix, but seems more
characteristic of the 2 p., according to my present data. Thus,
in the familiar xe-pa = lû tamat, lû tamata, tamati,
tamamat; passim. In HT. 88–89, 20 (cited § 23) xe-im-ma-
an-gaba-a = lû tappaṭṭar, xe probably denotes the 2 p.:
"O make thou it free from sin." Xe appears also as the cohor-
tative sign of the 3 p., IV. 13, 13–14 b: ár(UB)-ri-eš xe-im-
me-gal = ana tanadâte liškunka, "may he make it unto
thee for glory(?)." See § 55. The suffix -ka, "to thee," goes
back to the 1 and 2 p. in the first lines. For xe with 3 p., cf.
Br., pp. 539, 540.

§ 25. Xu occurs only once with 2 p.; viz., IV. 13, 11–12 b:
ki-sal-max-e ki-gal-la xu-mu-un-da-ri = ina kisalmaxi
kigalla lû ramâta, "thou hast placed a kigallu" (pave-
ment?) in the great court." Xu is frequent with the 3 p.; cf.
V. 51, 26 a: xu-um-ra-ab-êl-la = lišêçika, "may he bring
it forth to thee"; Br., p. 537.

§ 26. Íb(TUM) as 2 p. occurs HT. 123, obv. 20: e-ri-
zu-ku íb-ba-bi = ana ardiki ša tagugi, "unto thy(fem.)
servant with whom thou art wroth." Note also íb-çi-en =
attunu, "ye," V. 27, nr. 5, 13, written also ib with plain
ib(DAR), ibid., 14. It is curious that pure ib does not occur
as the prefix of the 1 p., but only in combination with ne, q. v.,
§ 36. For íb as prefix of the 3 p. cf. Br., p. 543.

¹⁷On kigallu, see my article "Two Assyro-Babylonian Parallels to Dan. v. 5," JBL.,
1903 (in press).

§ 27. Im is seen as 1 p., IV. 6, 41 b: má-e lu kín-gí-ám
Šilik-lu-dug me-en nam-šub na-ri-ga ne-in-sim a-šir
giš ša-ka-na(?)-ta ki-ta im-mi-in-ri dingir é-a é-a
xe-en-ti = mar šip-ri ša Marduk anâku šiptum ellítum
ina nadêa iddâ itti šakanni šapliš armêma, il bíti ina
bíti líšib, "the messenger of Marduk I am. When the glori-
ous incantation had been pronounced, pitch and šakanni[18] at
the bottom I placed. May the god of the house dwell in the
house." Here the im plainly points to má-e, "I." Im
appears as the sign of the 2 p., II. 16, 16 e: er(A-ŠI) im-ma-
an-šeš-šeš = tabakka, "thou weepest," a proverb evidently
addressed to a 2 p., although there is no determinating word
here. Im is usual as a 3 p. prefix, Br., p. 546.

§ 28. In is essentially a prefix of the 3 p.; cf. Br., pp. 540–2,
passim. I find it only once with the 2 p. in the interesting
sentence: IV. 7, 30 a: nin-má-e ni-zu-a-mu za-e in-má-
e-zu = ša anâku ídû atta tídí, "whatsoever I know thou
shalt know." The mu in ni-zu-a-mu is probably merely
the relative mu (see § 32, and § 2) and not the distinctive 1
personal ending. I regard the infixed 1 p. má-e in in-má-
e-zu as having an ethical force, i. e., "thou shalt know it for
me" = ma-e (see § 2). I find no case of in with the 1 p.
except in combination with ne, q. v., § 36. For in-çi-en and
in-ne-en, cf. § 10.

§ 29. Iz(GIŠ) is a very difficult prefix, as it occurs only
four times. I am unable to decide whether its correct reading is
iz or giš. It appears as 2 p. in II. 16, 14 cd: iz-du-ne
mu-un-êl-la = tallik tassâ, "thou didst go and take away."
Here iz is evidently meant to be the distinguishing mark of
the 2 p., in contrast to ni-du un-êl = illik išša, "he went
and took away," in the following lines. In HT. 60, iv. 13 also,
iz-e-dib = çabat, "seize thou," imper. If iz is cognitive
with the characteristic second personal ending -zu in this pas-
sage (see § 36), how are we to explain II. 16, 43 c: iz-en-ga-
an-kú = lûkul, "may I eat," 1 p., and ibid., 45 e: iz-en-ga-
ne-ib-gar = luškun, 1 p.? Iz is also 3 p. in ZK. ii. 82, line
32: iz-gá = innaçripma. In spite of the tempting similarity
of iz to -zu in the 2 p., we must admit that this prefix is as
indeterminate as any of the others.

[18] ¶ Šakanni probably means "reeds"(?).

§ 30. Mi is not uncommon with the 2 p. Thus, IV. 24, nr. 3, 6–7: tul-tul-aš mi-ni-in-šid = tilâniš tamnu, "thou regardest it as a ruin," pointing back to the 2 p. suffix -zu in line 3. Mi also appears very commonly with the 3 p., *Br.* pp. 546, 547.

§ 31. Min is a rare prefix. I find it only twice with the 3 p. *Br.* 143; 4418, but it appears as an infix with the 1 and 2 persons (see § 54).

§ 32. Mun has an extensive and varied use. It is very usual as a 1 p. Thus, IV. 10, 60 *a*: er(A-ŠI)-ra mu-un-šeš-šeš á(ID)-a-mu ba-an-te-ni = abkîma itatêia ul idxû, "I wept but they (indef. 'one') approached not my side;" then follows the line 1 *b*: i-dib mu-un-na-ab-bi nin-nam na-an-mu-uš-tuk-ma-ab = qube aqabbi manman ul išiman-anni, "I speak a plaint, but none hath heard me." Also in ES., IV. 10, 32 *a*: ág-gíg-ga dim-me-ir-mu nu-un-zu-ta mu-un-kú-e = ikkib íliia ina lâ idê akul, "I have unwittingly eaten the woe of my god," *i. e.*, "incurred my god's displeasure." Note the *ḥal*-clause with -ta which is similar in force to Turkish -*ib* for all three persons. In the passages where mun apparently appears as a first personal object I doubt very much whether this force really belongs to mun. Thus, IV. 10, 50 *a* (ES.); dim-me-ir šá súr-ra-bi mu-un-gí = ílim ina uzzi libbišu ušamxiranni, "the god in the might of his heart has afflicted me;" also *ibid.* 51: mu-un-dú-e ušemananni, "he has treated me ill" (from êmû). In such constructions it is of course possible that mun contains the first personal element and is cognitive with the determinating -mu of the 1 p., but it is contrary to all precedent in the Sumerian use of the prefix, which is in other passages quite indeterminative. It is much more likely that mun in these instances is simply the indeterminate verbal prefix which *mere accident* has caused to appear here as a first personal object. I admit that the first personal object is understood, but I regard it as unexpressed in the Sumerian, while the Assyrian translator found it necessary to indicate it. The same indeterminate character belongs to the relative suffix -mu which may be used for all three persons indiscriminately; *cf.* IV. 27, nr. 1, 4–11; where we find a succession of mu-clauses all of them 3 p. relative. *Cf.* also HT. 122, 16 obv.: e-ri-zu-ka ág-gíg-gá

ak-a-mu = ana ardiki ša maruštum ibšu, "unto thy (fem.)
servant who has sickness." Mu, the simpler form of mun,
indicates the 2 p. in a number of passages. Thus, IV. 28, 11 *a:*
zi-du mu-e-zu nin-ne-šub mu-e-zu = kîna tîdî raggi
tîdî, "thou knowest justice; thou knowest evil," where the
prefix points back to the voc. En-lîl = Bêl in line 3. A great
number of examples of mun as 3 p. are given *Br.*, pp. 532 *sqq.*
In IV. 23, 3 *c:* .... á(ID)-zu ba-ra-mu-un-gi = (Ištar) lâ
taniamma, the negative mun probably stands for mu + nu,
with intercalation (see § 22, on ban). In II, 39, 7 *e:* mu-un-
ni a variant of mun (*i. e.*, mun + i or ni?) occurs as the
characteristic sign of the imperative mu-un-ni-ka = qibišu,
"speak thou it," but the following three lines give ûmunni as
the distinctive imperative sign (2 p.). This appears to show
that muni was merely a variant of ûmunni, *q. v.* § 48. Then,
too, mu-un-i-gaba = inattalu, IV. 19, 44 *a*, an undoubted 3 p.
This demonstrates the uncertain character of even those prefixes
which are apparently the most distinctive.

§ 33. Simple na as a prefix is found only with the 3 p.
Br., p. 535, but we find na-an = nan for 2 p. in the negative,
i. e., na + nu (*cf. s. v.* mun, § 32) or nu + an (*cf.* § 19).
See IV. 10, 35 *b:* û-mu e-ri-zu na-an-gur-ri-en = bêlum
ardaka lâ tasâkip, "O Lord overthrow not thy servant."
Nan also represents the negative 3 p.: IV. 10, 1 *b:* na-an-
mu-uš-tuk-ma-ab = ul išimananni, "he hears me not"
(šemû).

§ 34. There are two prefixes nam, a negative, which is much
the more common, and an affirmative nam. The negative nam
is used combined with other prefixes to denote all three persons.
It occurs especially before a labial prefix; *cf.* IV. 30, 45–49 *a:*
nam-ba-ab-bi-en = lâ taqabbi, "thou shalt not speak;" IV.
10, 3 *b:* na-am-mu-un-gaba = ul anaṭal, "I look not," and
passim, as 3 p., *Br.*, p. 537 *sqq.* The affirmative nam appears
twice only; viz., IV. 20, nr. 2, obv. 3–4: giš si-gar azag-
an-na-kit nam-ta-e-gal(IK) = šigar šamê êllûti taptî,
"thou hast opened the bolt of the shining heavens." The 2 p.
here refers to the voc. Šamaš in line 1. Also IV. 16, 39;
40 *a:* dingir-gal-gal-e-ne-kit nam-xa-ba-tar-ru-da =
ilâni rabûti lirûrušu, "may the great gods curse him."
Postpositive nam appears HT. 124, 18: šir-bur-gíg (-xu)-

bi na-nam = áribšu çalmumma, "his black raven."   Here
the nam is equivalent to the Assyrian mimmation.

§ 35. Nam is negative with the 2 p. (see § 33, s. v. na).
For nan- with 3 p., cf. Br., p. 535.   For postpositive nan,
cf. § 73.

§ 36. Ne appears as 1 p., IV. 10, 5 b (ES.): dim-me-ir-
mu šá-lal-sud nigin-na-an-ši-ib šá-ne-du ne-ra-ab-bi
= ana ilija rêmni attanasxur unnîni aqabbi, "unto
my merciful god I turn; I utter my supplication."   Here the
mu suffix shows the 1 p.   Note the postpositive conjugation in
nigin-na-an-ši-ib which denotes a ḫál-clause like ta in the
example quoted above, § 32, and cf. § 8.   Ne is the prefix of the
2 p.: IV. 20, nr. 2, 9: dingir Babbar me-lam an-na kur-kur-
ra ne-dul = ilu Šamaš me-lam-me šamê mâtâti taktum,
"O Šamaš, glory of the heavens, thou hast covered the lands."
Ne is very frequent as a sign of the 2 p. and in this sense it
may have been pronounced iz[10] as a cognitive of zu (ne = izi,
Sa. ii. 32; V. 30, 64 and i-zu-u, Sa. ii. 32 var.).   This is,
however, very doubtful, as we find ne in combination with in,
i. e., ne-in = 2 p.   Thus, IV. 24, nr. 3, 22: ne-in-ši = taspun;
IV. 24, nr. 3, 12–13: ne-in-ri = tarmê, where ne-in is
plainly to be read nên, which seems to imply the value nê for
this sign irrespective of person (cf. my remarks on iz(GIŠ),
§ 29).   Ne is often the equivalent of the 3 p., Br., p. 542.   I
consider the prefix ne to be etymologically identical with the
pl. suffix -ne.   The primitive meaning of ne is "this;" cf. IV.
25, iii. rev. 25: ne-e = annû.

§ 37. Nêb (ne-ib) is 1 p., AL.[2] 134, rev. 5: ne-ib-ší-
ší-gi = asappan and HT. 79, rev. 19: à(ID)-ne-ib-uš = lum-
midsu.   Nêb is 2 p., II. 16, 29 b: ne-ib-ra-ra = tarappis.
For nêb = 3 p., cf. Br., p. 543.

§ 38. Ni like ne has a demonstrative sense; ni = šuatu,
V. 27, nr. 5, 18: ni-na-a = ana šuati.   The ni prefix occurs
only in the 2 and 3 persons, although ni as a suffix is found in
the first person = mu, § 3.   Ni as a suffix has also a negative
force (cf. § 22), i. e., a variant of nu, § 39.   For ni as 2 p., cf.
IV. 22, 3 b: tur-mu a-na nu-ni-zu = mâri minâ lâ tîdi,
"my son, what knowest thou not?"   Ni is very common in the
3 p., Br., p. 543.

[10] See HT., p. 143, § 15.

§ 39. Nu is the ordinary negative prefix. I find it with all three persons, but most commonly with the third; *Br.*, pp. 535, 536. For simple nu as 1 p., *cf.* HT. 128, rev. 21: xarran (ES. for kaskal) nu-çi-ám-má = ur-xa ul a-nam-din, "I give not the road." Simple nu = 2 p., IV. 9, 11 *b*: gaba-ri nu-tuk-an = máxiri ul tíší, "thou hast no rival." Here the 2 p. points back to the voc. u-mun-e = bêlum. Nu occurs frequently with other prefixes in all three persons.

§ 40. Šim, the nasalized ši, I find only with the 1 and 3 persons. With 1 p., AL.³ 135, obv. 35: an-na ši-im-gug = šâqiš allak, "I go loftily," where the goddess is speaking in the 1 p. *Cf.* IV. 15, 15 *a*: ši-mi-in-zu-uš = attaddi, "I know"(?). Pure ši = 3 p., HT. 61, iv. 30: ši-ne-ne-gaba = ittaṭṭalu, "(it, *i. e.*, the house) is open for inspection" (naṭâlu). Note that ši = šuatum, "that," V. 20, 60 *a* (*cf.* § 50 B).

§ 41. Šin in only two passages = 2 p.; viz., IV. 26, 54 *a*: dingir Šilik dingir mu ná-a-ta za-e ši-in-dirig-gi-en = Marduk ina ilâni mâla šuma nabû (attat)rat, "O Marduk among the gods as many as call a name thou art preeminent." Also AL.³ 134, obv. 1: an-sud ud-ag bíl-gim sar-ki-ta za-e ši-in-ga-me-en bíl = nûr šamê ša kîma išâtim ina mâtim napxat attîma, "thou (fem.) art the light of the heavens who flamest like fire over the land." Šin, however, is equivalent to the 3 p. in several passages, *Br.*, p. 547.

§ 42. Ú as 1 p. appears combined with other prefixes; HT. 127, obv. 39: i e-gi-zag-ga-ka zag sal ú-ba-ni-in-(dug-ga) = ina egizangî uktanni, "in the egizangi stone I am guarded," a very difficult passage, but the 1 p. is clearly a reference to Bêlit who is the speaker in the whole inscription; *cf. ibid.* 41: ka ú-ba-ni-in-dê = ašassima, "I shout my war-cry;" 77 obv.: ú-mu-un-êl-la = anašši, "I lift up." Simple ú appears with the 1 p., IV. 19, 52 *b*: má-e e-ri-za ú-gul-an-ma-ma = anâku aradki utnênki, "I thy (fem.) servant beseech thee." Here, however, the ES. suffix -ma-ma is probably the determinative of the 1 p. (see § 3). Simple ú appears as 2 p., IV. 17, 47 *a*: še-ir zi-silim-ma ú-gar-ra-ab nin-gíg-bi xa-ba-ni-ib-si-di-e = šarîr šulmi šukunšumma maruštašu lištêšir, "establish the perfection of his welfare; may his illness be corrected," pointing back to za-e, *ibid.*, 45.

It is probable that rab here is the real 2 p. suffix (see § 63).
Û = 3 p. *passim, Br.*, p. 547.

§ 43. Ûm (û-um) appears as 1 p., HT. 129 (K. 257), 31, 33:
û-um-tag-ga = alappat, "I disturb (overturn)." I find also um-
ta-e-na-zu-ku = ina açêka, "when thou goest forth," V. 50, 1,
35, but here um is merely the verb-noun. Um = 3 p., *Br.*, p. 538.

§ 44. Umeni is the usual sign of the 2 p. imper., *Br.*, p. 546.
That it may also = 3 p. may be seen, for example, IV. 8, 38 *b:*
u-me-ni-sar-sar = urakkis, "he bound" (*cf. ZA.*, Vol. I,
p. 60).

<p style="text-align:center">SECOND PERSONAL PREFIXES.</p>

The following prefixes are found with the 2 p. only: xi, i,
rab, umunni, and zu.

§ 45. Xi occurs compounded with i (*q. v.*, § 46), IV. 20, nr.
2, 1–2: dingir Babbar an-ûr-ra xi-i-ni-bu = îlu Šamaš
ina išid šamê tappuxamma, "O Šamaš, thou glowest out
of the bottom of the heavens." Xi here is undoubtedly only a
vocalic variant for xa, xe, xu. The postpositive xi, II. 16, 25
b: ti-il-ba-ab-xi-en-e-še = gummuranni, I am unable to
explain. See § 4.

§ 46. I appears IV. 19, 19 *a:* dam-gim i-gub(DU) xûl-
la-xûl-la-bi = kîma atta tazzizzu xadû u rîšû, "as soon
as thou standest, they (the people) exult and rejoice." I regard
dam-gim here as an explanatory redundancy, *i. e.*, gim explains
dam = kîma; *cf.* IV. 9, 28 *a:* an-sud-dam = kîma šamê
ruqûti, "like the distant heavens." Kîma is a conjunction in
IV. 19, 19 *a; cf.* כּ = kî and see *Hwb., s. v.* kî, "as soon as."
The address is to bêlum, l. 1. I occurs as an infix after mun,
IV. 19, 43 *a:* sag-zu mu-un-i-gaba = inattalu pânika,
"they (the Anunnâki) look on thy face." *Cf.* also above, § 9,
s. v. i-nam-ma.

§ 47. Rab, which as an infix, is the usual sign of the 2 p.
object (see § 63), indicates the 2 p. also as a prefix; IV. 7, 26–27
a: dingir Šilik a-na nu-ni-zu a-na ra-ab-dax-e = îlu
Marduk minâ lâ tîdî minâ luçipka (and in the next line,
28, 29, also = luraddika), "O Marduk, what dost thou not
know? What can I add to thee (to thy knowledge)?"

§ 48. Umunni, which is only a variant of umeni = 2 p.,
II. 39, 8 *e:* umunni-ka = qibišuma, "speak thou it" (see
§ 32 on mun).

§ 49. Zu, which is identical with the determinative suffix of the 2 p. (§ 7), occurs only twice as a prefix; viz., IV. 9, 21, 23 *b:* .... zu-ši-bit-di = naplis, "look thou," pointing to za-e in l. 1 *b*. It is, of course, not quite certain that zu is a genuine prefix here. It may have been the 2 p. suffix of another word which has been broken off in the mutilated text (see above, § 7, on the determinative -zu).

§ 50. All the above verbal prefixes except zu- seem to me to be comparatively easily recognizable demonstrative elements. They all, except zu-, depend for their personal force on some preceding distinguishing word, or on a perfectly clear context. Thus a is probably cognitive with the suffix -a = ana (*Br.* 11364) and ina (*Br.* 11365). The a in ab, aba, al, an, ba, bab, ban, ga, na, nam, however, may be present for reasons connected with the principles of vowel harmony which I hope to demonstrate in a subsequent article. The b in ab, aba, ba, bab, ban, îb, rab is in all likelihood identical with the demonstrative b in the suffix bi = 3 p. sing. and pl. (HT. 115, obv. 13, and elsewhere, § 69). This -bi also = demonstrative "that;" *cf.* IV. 22, 54, 55: a-na-bi = amêlu šuatu, "that man." G in ga and x in xa, xe, xi, xu we must regard as characteristic optative elements. It is curious that i should hitherto have been found indicating the 2 p. only. There seems to be no etymological reason for this, so it is possible that it is purely accidental. I must, therefore, awaiting further discoveries, regard i as an indeterminate prefix of unknown derivation. The l in al may be cognitive with lâ = šû, V. 27, 36 *a*, probably not for lalû (*Br.* 987).[20] M in im, mi, min, mun, um, umeni, umunni must be cognitive with the relative mu (§ 32) and not with the mu of the 1 p. from mâe, "I," seen so frequently with substantives (see § 3). This is, I think, amply demonstrated by the presence of the m-prefixes with all three persons. The m in nam, however, is a nasalization like the nasalizing n. Nasalizing m occurs before labial prefixes ba, mu, min, but also before t and n, *i. e.*, in nam-ta and nam-ne. See *Br.*, p. 538. N in an, ban, in, mun, šin is very likely a mere nasalization or else a negative sign as the context may demand, but n in na, ne, ni may be cognate with na = annû, "this," II. 7, 14 *g*, and na = šu, *Br.* 1588. Ni as a suffix = 3 p., *Br.* 5330–32. The

[20] This is not the neg. lâ of n. 3.

neg. n in nu (ban, mun) is probably a specific negative ele-
ment. The nan prefix seen above = neg. nam (see § 34), but
prefers the n-nasal, owing to the initial g of the verb-stem; cf.
nangurrien and nan-gi, Br. 3573. The nasal n may also
appear before m (sic!) and n; cf. Br., p. 535. Etymologically
rab is compounded of ra, originally "go," commonly seen with
verbs of motion + the demonstrative element b (cf. the vocalic
variant rib). It is impossible to know why rab should have
been chosen by the genius of the language as the specific second
personal pronominal infix (see § 6), but it is clear that Sumerian
usage has so ordained it. The ši of šim, šin may be identical
with ši = šuatum, V. 20, 60 a. The u of û, un, umeni,
umunni may be cognate with û = "and," Br. 9468.

INFIXES DENOTING THE INCORPORATED OBJECT OF THE VERB.

Owing to lack of space it will not be possible in the present
article to touch upon the peculiarities of the modal infixes
mentioned above (§ 13). Those infixes which indicate the
incorporated verbal object of the 1, 2, and 3 persons must claim
attention at this point. Like all the prefixes except zu these
are indeterminate, depending upon some preceding word which
denotes the person.

§ 51. Da in IV. 17, 38 a, 2 p.: ša-ra-da-gub = izzazka,
"he stands before thee" (da = ka).

§ 52. Dab = 2 p., IV. 13, 44 a: zu-a-zu e-da xe-en-da-
ab-gi-gi = mûduka ana mê litîrka, "may thy wise one
turn for thee to the waters(?);" cf. IV. 9, 9 b: za-e e-ne-
ám-zu a-ba mu-un-zu-a a-ba mu-un-da-ab-di-a = kâtu
amátka mannu ilammad mannu išanan, "as for thee,
who can learn thy word; who can rival thee?" In this latter
passage, the object "thee" is unexpressed in Assyrian, but dab
must mean -ka. In IV. 13, 26 b: na-am-ba-da-ab-lal-e =
lâ attada, "I know not," dab appears to have the force of a
3 p. infix.

§ 53. Dan = 2 p., IV. 17, 13 a: .... xul-li-eš .... mu-
ra-da-an-sar-sar = dingir En-lil xâdiš ikarrabuka, "O
Bêl, with joy (and blessing) they (the angels) approach thee."
Cf. II. 19, 17 a: a-a-zu á(ID) nam-ur-sag-ga-zu-ku(?)
nin-ba xa-da-an-ba-e = abaka ana idi qarradûtika
qišta liqiška, "may thy father give a gift to thy hero-like

hand." Dan evidently = the 3 p., IV. 11, 14 *a:* ugun-bi na-am-ba-da-an-tar = bêlšu itarrаršu, "his Lord curses him."

§ 54. Man and min seem to have only third personal meaning. Thus, HT. 87, 15: xe-ma-an-gaba-a = lû tapaṭṭar, "O make thou it free." Also II. 16, 16 *e:* er (A-ŠI) im-ma-an-šeš-šeš = tabakka, "thou weepest *for it,*" unexpressed in Assyrian. In IV. 20, obv. nr. 2, 5: giš-gal anna-kit gal im-mi-in-tak = dalât šamê taptâ, "the doors of heaven thou openest *them,*" the third personal object is unnecessary, and hence unexpressed in Assyrian.

§ 55. Me may have second personal force, V. 13, 13–14 *b:* xe-im-me-gal = liškunka, "may he establish for thee," but this is doubtful.[21]

§ 56. Mun = 1 p.: IV. 21, 14 *b:* im-mu-un-gam-ma im-mu-un-til-la = ša uqadidanni uqattianni, "(the Lord) who hath bowed me down, who hath destroyed me." As I cannot find mun as the infix of the 2 or 3 persons, this infix may be the determinate mun = mu "my" in this passage (see above, § 3).

§ 57. Nab is 1 p. in II. 48, 30 *g:* mu-un-na-ab-kur-ra = irtaksanni, "he bound me." *Cf.* II. 48, 21 *g:* mu-un-na-ab-si-ga = utannišanni, "he weakened me." That nab can denote the 3 p. also is clear from IV. 15, 51 *a:* ka-bi ba-an-na-ab-bi = amât šuati iqbîš, "he spoke this word to him." It occurs also postpositively, HT. 115, 15–16 obv.: šu gid-ba-an-na-ab = taçabati qâtsu, "thou shalt seize *for him* (not in Assyrian) his hand." Ba, "thou," here points back to zae, l. 13.

§ 58. Nan = 2 p., IV. 28, 3 *b:* mu-un-na-an-sim-mu = liddinka, "may he give thee" (*i. e.,* to the patient, to whom the sentence is addressed). Nan = 3 p., HT., 98, 56: dingir Babbar-ra xe-en-na-an-ti = îlu Šamaš liballiṭsu, "may Š. make him live."

§ 59. Nešin is the sign of the 3 p. pl., *i. e.,* IV. 5, 62 *a:* mu-un-ne-ši-in-xal-xal-la = izuzsunuti, and *ibid.,* 66 *a:* mu-un-ne-ši-in-ág-gi-eš = uma'iršunuti.

§ 60. Ni denotes the 3 p., HT. 119, obv. 22: ga-ni-láx-en = nillikšu, "let us go to him" (see § 23).

§ 61. Nib is the 2 p. infix, AL.' 134, obv. 7–8: šu-mi-ni-ib-sar-sar = ikarrabki, "he approaches thee." It indicates the 3 p., IV. 22, nr. 8: si-mu-ni-ib-si-di-e = ul uštêširšu (si-di = êšêru). It also appears as the 3 p. with dative force:

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[21] Me in im-me may be merely the vocalic prolongation of the prefix. *Cf.* § 13.

IV. 7, 24–5 *a:* En-ki tur-ni dingir Šilik mu-un-na-ni-ib-gí-gí = ilu Ea mârašu ilu Marduk ippal, "Ea speaks to his son Marduk."

§ 62. Nin = 2 p., IV. 25, iv. rev. 43: im-ma-ra-ni-in-ka = ukannika, and appears as the 3 p. *passim.* Thus, V. 50, 47 *a:* ba-ni-in-si = i-naruš.

§ 63. Rab is the common infix of the second personal object (see § 47). Thus, IV. 15, 45 *b:* dingir Šilik-ri (Asaru) ba-an-na-te ka-bi xu-mu-ra-ab-bi = ana ilu Marduk dixêma amât šuati liqbîka, "draw near unto Marduk; may he speak that word unto thee." Rab is seen postpositively, IV. 17, 47 *a:* û-gar-rab = šukunšumma (see § 42). Rab, how-ever, may evidently = the 3 p. Thus, in IV. 26, 58–61 *b:* a-nêr-gíg-ga-bi ba-da-ra-ab-gá-gá = tanîxa marçam ištana-kan, "the sickly plaint is made to him" (not in Assyrian, but plainly rab = 3 p. here). Also in IV. 10, 5 *b* (ES.): dim-me-ir-mu lil-lal-sud nigin-na-an-ši-ib šá-ne-du ne-ra-ab-bi = ana iliia rêmni attanasxur unnini aqabbi, "unto my merciful god I turn; I speak my supplication to him" (rab = 3 p.). Of course it is possible that these forms were really intended to be 2 p. in Sum. and were imperfectly translated in Assyrian(?). See § 50 on the derivation of rab.

§ 64. Ran = 2 p., IV. 23, nr. 3, 13–14: a-ra-an-šub[m] = addiki. Also IV. 30, 8 *b:* A-nun-na-kit-e-ne ka šu-ma-ra-an-gal-li-eš = Anunnâki appa ilabbinûka, "the A. prostrate themselves before thee." Ran is more frequently 3 p., as in II. 16, 53 *sqq.:* a-ba mu-ra-an-sí = mannu inam-din, "who will pay for it" (or is "to thee" = ran understood here in Sumerian?). In HT. 90, 70: ba-ra-an-gi-gi-e-ne = â idxû, "let them not approach," ran is plainly negative, a combination of ra + nu (see § 22). It may also have an objec-tive force in this passage.

§ 65. Rib is the vocalic variant of rab. It appears as 2 p., V. 51, 24–5 *b:* dingir Nin-gal-nun-na nin-gal abzu-kit šur-šu-me-bi xe-ri-ib-láx-ga = ilu Ninkina šarrat apsî ina bûniša linammirka, "May Ninkina the queen of the depths enlighten thee by her appearance," where the rib points back to the determinative turaxune = ina erêbika, ll. 20, 21.

§ 66. Ši as an infix = the 2 p. only once and that in a doubt-ful passage; viz., HT. 125, 13 (ES.): dim-me-ir an-na mu-

[m]See § 7; HT. 122, obv. 12: šub-ba-a-xu = addiki.

un-ši-si-si-(gi-eš) = ilâni ša šamê ina taxâzi izzaz-
(ka), "the gods of the heavens stand before thee in the battle."

§ 67. Šin = 1 p., only IV. 17, 40 a: en-e mâ-e mu-un-ši-
in-gí-en = bê-lum iâti išpuranni, "the Lord has sent me,"
and V. 62, 41 a: mu-un-ši-in-bar-âm me-en = lû ippal-
suinnima, "verily he looked upon me." Šin = 3 p., IV. 7,
17 a: ê-a ba-ši-in-tu = ana bîti êrumma, "he entered
into the house."

SUFFIXES.

§ 68. Ámmâ or ággâ occurs HT. 128, 23 rev. (ES.):
mu-un-na-ab-çi-âm-mâ = anamdin, "I give." I regard
ámmâ (ES. for ággâ) as the Sum. equivalent of madâdu,
"measure," cf. V. 25, 22 a, and çiamma, therefore, in HT.
128, 23 rev., is probably merely a sense reduplication of the
idea of nadânu, "give, convey" (çi = nadânu; madâdu =
ámmâ). Ámmâ is probably a formative suffix here, although
the point is by no means clear.

§ 69. Bi is the well-known suffix of the 3 p., *passim*. See § 50.

§ 70. Mab is a postpositive = 1 p., IV. 10, 1 b: i-dib(LU)
mu-un-na-ab-bi nin-nam na-an-mu-uš-tuk-ma-ab =
qube aqabbi manman ul išimanni, "I speak a plaint
but no one hath heard me." Mab = 3 p., HT. 115, rev. 3:
šâ-ne-du šu-te-ma-ab = liqê unnîni, "my prayer, receive
thou it" (= mab).

§ 71. Mê(mên) is simply the verb "to be" which may be
used with all three persons. See Haupt's remarks, *Sfg*. 30, n. 2,
31. I have already pointed out, "The Bêlit-Inscription, K. 257,"
JAOS., 1903 (in press), that Eme-Sal DU in K. 257 (*passim*)
is probably to be read mên.

§ 72. For mu the determinative suffix of the 1 p., see § 3.

§ 73. I find šib postpositively denoting the 1 and 3 per-
sons; viz., HT. 115, rev. 3: i-de-zi-bar-mu-un-ši-ib = kêniš
naplisinnima, "look upon me with favoring strength." Here
mun is the 2 p. subject and šib probably the 1 p. object.
In IV. 10, 5 b: nigin-na-an-ši-ib = attanasxur, "I look to
him," šib evidently denotes the 3 p. object.

§ 74. For zu the determinative suffix of the 2 p., see § 7.

So far as I am aware, there is no other language which uses
an indefinite number of personally indeterminate elements.
Sumerian must, I think, stand alone in this respect, which,

however, does not in any way militate against its true linguistic character, any more than the isolated phenomenon of poly-synthesis can be cited as a reasonable argument against the existence of the American idioms and the Basque as actual languages. It still remains for Sumerologists to discover the phonetic reasons why certain Sumerian stems preferred certain prefixes.

SUMERIAN GRAMMATICAL ELEMENTS DISCUSSED IN THIS ARTICLE.

The numbers refer to the sections.

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES.[1]

VI.

By Robert Francis Harper,

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In my *Doctor Dissertation* (1888), I read the passage in Esarhaddon, Cyl. A, III. 26: mi-šid(?) nabâli instead of the usual mi-lak nabâli. Delitzsch, in *HWB.*, 429a, accepted this reading and translated *Niederung, Ebene*, contrasting it with šaddi in l. 31. In a Letter to the king from Nabû-bêl-šumâte, after the usual introduction, we read: ⁸ki-i aš-mu-u ⁹šar Elamtu mi-ši-id ¹⁰u alâni ma-'-du-u-te ¹¹la-pa-ni-šu it-ti-ik-ru ¹²um-ma ina ḳâta-ka ul ni-il-lak ¹³ki-i ša aš-mu-u a-na šarri bêli-ia ¹⁴al-tap-ra, *As I hear, the outlying district(s)—country, plain, etc.—and many cities have rebelled against the king of Elam, saying: "We will not serve under thee." As soon as I hear (definitely), I shall report to the king, my lord.* There are many other interesting points in this Letter (83–1–18, 21; Harper 839), which Dr. J. M. P. Smith will doubtless bring out in his article on *The Letters of Nabû-bêl-šumâte.*

An important passage for the meaning of šipṣu, šapṣu is found in the Letter, K. 998 (Harper 571), the name of whose author has been broken off. In rv. 9–12, we have: ki-i ša dib-bi ṭâbûti dib-bi ṭâbûti du-ub-ba ki-i ša dib-bi šip-ṣu-te dib-bi šip-ṣu-u-te it-ti-šu-nu du-ub-ba, *When (they speak) pleasantly do thou speak pleasantly; when (they speak) arrogantly, do thou speak arrogantly with them.* Here we have dibbê šipṣûte in contrast with dibbê ṭâbûti, demanding some such meaning as *arrogant* rather than *powerful.*

In K. 1120 (Harper 596) we read: ¹ma-a ᵃᵐᵉˡ e-mu-ḳi ⁵ša ᵐᵃᵗ Akkadi ina eli ⁶ta-ḫu-me ᴿᵛ˙¹i-tal-ku-u-ni ²ma-a i-ni-ir-ti-šu-nu ³i-tu-ṣi i-ta-lak, *The forces of the Land of*

Akkad have come over the border. He will go forth (and)
march against them. Here i-ni-ir-ti-šu-nu is for ina irti-
šunu. *Cf.* i-na-gi-e for ina nagê and i-pa-ni-šu for ina
pânišu, 81–2–4, 55 (Harper 381), transliterated in *AJSL.*,
XIII, 212. The upper part of the obverse and the lower part
of the reverse of K. 1120 are broken away.

In Bu. 91–5–9, 110 (Harper 756), a Letter from Kudurru to
the king, we have the form sinḵu instead of the usual sunḵu:
ʳᵛ·³ki-i kal-bi ʻina si-in-ḵi ina bu-bu-ti ⁵akâlê lu la
a-mu-ʼ-at, *May I not die like a dog through want and lack of
food!*

In the badly broken Letter, K. 1516 (Harper 635), the
reverse reads:

1. ultu lib-bi ᵃˡ Ša-ri-e
2. a-di ᵃˡ Dur-a-ta-na-te
3. ana-ku u-pa-sa-ak
4. ultu ᵃˡ Dur-a-ta-na-te
5. a-di ᵃˡ Dur-ta-li-ti
6. ᵃˡ Tar-ḫa-a-a u-pa-su-ku
7. ultu ᵃˡ Dur-ta-li-ti
8. a-di lib-bi ᵃˡ A-ṣa-ri
9. [ana]-ku u-pa-sa-ak
    [Broken away.]

Here pasâk(ḵ)u must have some such meaning as *to travel, to
journey.*

In *AJSL.*, XV, 143, 144, I stated that I was inclined to
think that lidiš is a form with ל prefixed like lapân. Since
then Delitzsch's *ALS.*⁴ has appeared, where the form is read
lidiš (לדש*) and translated *übermorgen(?)*.

The following are the passages known to me at present, K.
623 (Harper 191), the reverse of which reads: ¹šul-mu a-na
ešrê-te ²a-na si-gur-e-te ³a-na êkalli ⁴a-na dûri ⁵a-na
bîtâti ša âli gab-bi ⁶lib-bu ša šarri ⁷bêli-ia lu-u tâba
⁸ma-ʼ-da ina ši-a-ri ⁹ina li-di-iš ¹⁰šarru bêli i-šam-me
¹¹[ma-a] a-ta-a taš-me ¹².... taš-pu-ra ¹³........šu-u
¹⁴........šarru .. K. 539 (Harper 206), rv. 6: ⁵ma-a
ina ši-a-ri ⁶ina li-di-iš ⁷ina pa-an šarri ni-ḵa-bi. K.
5291 (Harper 317), obv. 19: ¹⁷... a-na šarri bêli-ia ¹⁸a-ti-
din ina lib-bi an-ni-e ¹⁹ina êkalli li-ʼ-[diš ²⁰ki-i ši-a-
ri (the text has ḫu which is a mistake for ri) ʳᵛ·¹itti šarri
a-da-bu-bu-ni. 83–1–18, 14 (Harper 406), rv. 4: ᵒᵇᵛ·¹⁶ina

muḫḫi niḳê ¹⁷ša šarru bêli ᴿᵛ·¹iš-pur-an-ni ²ina arḫi an-ni-e ³ṭa-ba a-na e-pa-a-ši ⁴ina ši-a-ri ina li-di-iš ⁵am-ma-te ina pân šarri ⁶bêli-ia ma-ḫi-ir-u-ni ⁷li-pu-šu.

In all these passages some such meaning as *at once* will suit the context. Hence I am inclined to suggest the combination la + ediš = lîdiš, *at once*. One may also suggest the combination lâ, *not* + ediš (חדש) = lîdiš, *before it is light, early*.

In *AJSL.*, XIV, 12, the reading šaddagiš, šaddagṭiš was established as over against Delitzsch's saddagiš (*BAS.*, II, 60), Meissner's maddagiš (*SAW.*) and Delattre's maddaiṣ (*PSBA.*, XXXIII, 52). The passage cited was K. 117 (Harper 84), obv. 4, where we find ša-dag-tiš. This was the only passage known to me at that time where the reading ša for šad occurred. Compare now among others, K. 590 (Harper 525), rv. 1; K. 548 (Harper 724), rv. 5; S. 152 (Harper 773), obv. 10: ⁷...ina muḫḫi ᵃᵐᵉˡ barû ⁸ša ina pân ᵐUb-ba-a-a ⁹pa-ḳi-du-u-ni ¹⁰ša ina ša-dag-tiš ¹¹ṭe-e-mu ¹²ina pân šarri bêli-ia ¹³u-te-ru-u-ni.

This word is of frequent occurrence in the Letter literature and is to be taken with Delitzsch as a *Zeitadverb*. No derivation has been attempted. I am inclined to regard it as a formation in akku from šadu = šad + akku, and ša(d)dak(g)ṭu would then be a feminine of this formation. Hence ša(d)dagiš = šad + akku + iš. Here, too, a meaning like *at once* will suit all the contexts. This explanation is offered with much reserve.

K. 822 (H. 858), a Letter from Nabûkudurruṣur, is interesting in connection with K. 1234 (H. 134), a Letter from Nabûpašir. The latter is transliterated and translated by Winckler in *Altorientalische Forschungen* (Zweite Reihe, Band II, Heft 2), 305, 306, and Winckler's translation is cited by Brockelman, *ZA.*, XVI, 399, 400. K. 1234 may be transliterated and translated as follows: ᴼᵇᵛ·¹[a-na šarri bêli]-ia ²[ardu-ka Nabû]-pa-šir ³[lu šul-mu a-na šar]ri bêli-ia ⁴[Sin] Ningal ⁵[a-na šarri] bêli-a ⁶[lik-ru]-bu ⁷[i-na] ûmi XVII ⁸[Sin] ut-tu-ṣi-a ⁹[i-na] bît i]t-ki-it ¹⁰[e-t]a-rab ¹¹[niḳê] ᵖˡ· ša šarri bêli-a ¹²i-na šul-mu ¹³it-te-pa-aš. ᴿᵛ·¹Sin i-su-[ri] ²ina bîti-šu e-ta-rab ³i-na ša-lim-ti ⁴i-na šub-ti-šu ⁵it-tu-ši-ib ⁶a-na šarri bêli-a ⁷ik-tar-ba.—*To the king, my lord, thy servant Nabûpašir! Greeting to the king, my*

*lord! May Sin and Ningal bless the king, my lord! On the
17th day Sin went forth and entered into the House of Worship.
The sacrifices of the king, my lord, he received favorably (were
offered in favor). When Sin reëntered his own temple he took
up his residence therein in safety and sent his blessing to the
king, my lord.*

K. 822, the text of which is well preserved, with the excep-
tion of the last sign on obv. 8, confirms all of Winckler's
restorations in the text of K. 1234.

K. 822. HARPER 858.

TRANSLITERATION.

Obverse.

    [A-na] šarri bêli-ia
    [ardu]-ka Nabû-kudurri-uṣur
3. [lu]-u šul-mu
    a-na šarri bêli-ia
    Nabû u Marduk
6. a-na šarri bêli-ia
    lik-ru-bu
    iš-ši-ia-a-ri ḳa-rit ilâni(?)
9. Taš-me-tum ṭa-at-tu
    tu-ṣa-a
    ina lib bît it-ki-ti
12. tu-u-šab
    niḳê ina pa-ni-ša
    in-ni-ip-pa-ša
15. ka-ni-is-sa
    ta-kal-lim
    ša ba-a-di
18. te-e-rab
    ina šub-ti-ša
    tu-u-šab

Reverse.

    [a]-na šarri bêli-ia
    [lu-u] tak-ru-ub
3. [ûmê] arkûti
    šanâti
    da-ra-a-ti
6. ṭub lib-bi
    ṭub šîri
    a-na šarri bêli-ia
9. lu-u ta-ad-din
    šarru bêli lu-u i-di

TRANSLATION.

To the king, my lord, thy servant Nebuchadrezzar! Greeting to the king, my lord! May Nabû and Marduk bless the king, my lord! In the morning, the warrior-goddess of the gods(?), Tašmetum, the good, will go forth (and) take up her residence in the House of Worship. Sacrifices will be offered in her presence. She will witness her worship. In the evening she will reënter and take up her abode in her own dwelling. May she grant a blessing to the king, my lord! May she grant length of days, never-ending years, health of mind and body to the king, my lord! Let the king, my lord, decide!

Another interesting Letter is K. 629 (Harper 65) from Nabû-šumiddina to the king, in which we have an account of the consecration of Nabû's bed-chamber in Calah, on which occasion Nabû was present, and a sacrifice was offered. Then follows the programme of the day: Nabû is to be taken from the palace quarters to the grove, a sacrifice is to be offered and then he is to be carried back by the charioteer of the gods. This celebration occurred on the third of Iyyar and Nabû returned on the fourth. In addition to the good wishes for the king, there is a further statement that "whoever offers up one ĶA of his food, may enter the house of Nabû." *Cf.* Johnston's excellent translation in *AEL.*, 153–5; Martin, *Lettres assyriennes et babyloniennes*, 25, 26; van Gelderen, *BAS.*, IV, 4, 537–9.

Contributed Notes.

PRONUNCIATION OF HEBREW AMONG THE RUSSIAN JEWS.

The pronunciation of Hebrew on the part of the majority of the Russian Jews is very corrupt. The cause of this phenomenon is very obvious. The great Russian Talmudists, or, as they are called in Hebrew, Lamdānîm, look with suspicion upon those who study Hebrew from a literary and scientific point of view. The study of Hebrew grammar is regarded, at least in certain communities, as the first step toward atheism.

The Jews of Russia, Poland, and Germany follow the so-called Aškenazî pronunciation, while among the Spanish and Portuguese Jews what is termed the Sephardic pronunciation prevails. The Sephardic pronunciation is the older, as is shown by the transliteration of Hebrew words and names in the cuneiform texts as well as in the Septuagint, in Josephus, and in the New Testament. It is also more in conformity with the pronunciation of the cognate languages. Therefore it is followed by the majority of Hebrew philologians.

The principal difference in the pronunciation of Hebrew among the Aškenazîm, especially among the Russian Jews, is the different accentuation. There is a strong tendency among the Russian and Polish Jews to accentuate all words on the penult instead of on the ultima. For instance, בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא is pronounced by the Russian Jews, as correctly stated in Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar*, *brêsis bóro*. The only words that are always accented on the ultima are אֱלֹהִים and אֲדוֹנָי. This is evidently a trace of the original accentuation, and the preservation of the original accent is due to the sacred character of the divine names.

The tendency to accent all words on the penult is so strong that even in a dissyllabic word, the first vowel of which is Š°wâ, no matter whether simple or composite, the Russian Jews will often accentuate the first syllable; a composite Š°wâ, under the influence of the accent, being pronounced like its corresponding full vowel, and a simple Š°wâ like Çêrê. For instance, אֲשֶׁר, the relative pronoun, is as a rule pronounced *áser;* אֲדוֹן עוֹלָם, "the Lord of the universe," is usually pronounced *ádden élom;* יְצִיר, the post-biblical word for creature, is pronounced *yéçir.*

As to the pronunciation of the consonants, the chief peculiarity of the Russian Jews is their failure to differentiate similar consonants, several consonants being pronounced alike. For instance, א and ע are as a rule not pronounced at all. From the frequent confusion between א and ע in the Talmud, it is evident that ע had lost its original sound even in the Talmudic period. Some Russian Jews pronounce the ע like the French *son nasal.* כ and ד are always pronounced as stops, never as spirants. ט and ק are pronounced without the characteristic glottal catch; that is, they are pronounced like the English *k* and *t*, so that there is no distinction made between ט, ק and ת, כ, except when the ת and כ are rapheted or spirantic. Nor is there, as a rule, any distinction made between the sibilants ס, שׂ, שׁ and spirantic ת, all being pronounced as simple *s*. Few Jews differentiate שׂ from שׁ, both being pronounced as Sāmêkh. Spirantic ב and ו are usually pronounced as

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v. The correct pronunciation of ו as *w* is rare. The semi-vowels ו and י are always pronounced as consonants, nor do they ever form diphthongs with a preceding vowel. For example, סוּסָיו, מַיִם, and בַּיִת are pronounced *súsow*, *máyim*, and *báyis*, respectively. צ is pronounced as *ts* or like German *z*, never as Arabic ص. The other consonants are pronounced alike by the Sephardîm and the Aškenazîm.

As to the vowels, the Russian Jews pronounce the Hebrew words so quickly that it is impossible to say whether a vowel be long or short. In unaccented syllables the vowels are often pronounced as Š°wâ. Only in accented syllables are the vowels distinctly heard. Qâmĕç is pronounced by a few like the long Swedish *â*, or like English *aw*. This pronunciation, however, is quite rare. The majority of the Russian Jews pronounce it as short *o*, making no distinction between Qâmĕç and Qâmĕç-ḫaṭûph. Ḥôlĕm is generally pronounced as *ē*, like Çêrê in the Sephardic pronunciation. The correct pronunciation of the Ḥôlĕm as *ô* is rare. The Polish Jews pronounce it like English *oi* in oil.

The substitution of a short *o* for a long *a*, and *ē* for *ô* is very common also in Yiddish, the German dialect of the Jews. For example, the German words *hâben*, *grâben* and *Tâg* are pronounced *hoben*, *groben*, and *Tog;* on the other hand the German adjectives *hoch* and *rôt* are pronounced *hêch* and *rêt*. This interchange between *ô* and *ē* may be compared to the *ô* in Hebrew in contradistinction to the *ē* in Assyrian, in words like *rôš* (רֹאשׁ) "head," Assyrian *rēš*, and *çôn* (צֹאן) "flock," Assyrian *çēn*, or Hebrew *Sargôn* (סַרְגּוֹן) instead of Assyrian Šarrukēn, so that the pronunciation of the Hebrew *ô* among the Russian Jews is practically on a par with the Assyrian *ē*. The missionary, Wolf, tells us that the Jews of Çan'a in Arabia pronounce the Ḥôlĕm in the same way. Instead of *môre* (מוֹרֶה) "teacher" they say *mēri*. Ḥirĕq, both *longum* and *parvum*, is pronounced as short *i*. Çêrê is pronounced by the Russian Jews as *ē*, by the Polish Jews as *i* in *bride*. For instance בְּרֵאשִׁית is pronounced by the Russian Jews *brēsis*, by the Polish Jews *brísis* (braisis).

Qǐbbûç and Šûrĕq, no matter whether long or short, are pronounced by the Russian Jews as short *u*, by the Polish Jews as French *u*.

Simple Š°wâ, when pronounced at all, is sounded like Çêrê, but perhaps uttered a little more rapidly, *e. g.*, וְאָמַר is usually pronounced *veómar*; שְׁוָא is pronounced *sévo*. The Š°wâ of Wâw copulative is as a rule pronounced. In other cases usage differs widely. Some Russian Jews always pronounce it as Çêrê, while others do not pronounce it at all. There are a number of very common words in which Š°wâ is never pronounced. For example, כְּתוּבִים, בְּרָכָה, and קְלָלָה are pronounced *ksúvim*, *brócho*, and *qlólo*.

Composite Š°wâ in the beginning of a word is usually pronounced like its corresponding full vowel. For instance חֳלִי, "disease," is generally pronounced *ḥóli*. In the middle of a word it is pronounced like a full vowel when it is in an accented syllable; in an unaccented syllable it is pronounced either very hurriedly, or is not pronounced at all. The third person plural imperfect of עָבַד is usually pronounced *yaámdu* instead of *ya'm°dû*. The first word of the fortieth chapter of Isaiah is pronounced by some *naḥmû*, by others *náḥ°mû*.

Book Notices.

ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS.[1]

When, in 1892, Dr. Robert Francis Harper announced his intention of publishing all the letters of the Kouyunjik collections in the British Museum, it was generally recognized that he had undertaken no light task. The letter tablets are notoriously difficult to copy, their number is very large, and the labor of editing the whole mass of the material may safely be termed most formidable. To carry such a work through to successful completion a very large amount of zeal and perseverance was demanded. Fortunately Dr. Harper possesses these qualities, and he has now placed in the hands of Assyriologists about half the letter material to be found in the British Museum. The three new volumes contain 338 letters, so that in all 876 texts are now included in the series. That a certain number of these texts have already been published by other Assyriologists is no disadvantage. The plan of Harper's work contemplates the publication of a complete *Corpus Epistolarum*, and it is manifestly far more convenient for the student of Assyrian epistolary literature to find all the letters included in a single work, than to have to seek them through a number of Assyriological publications. The existence of two or more editions of the same text has, moreover, the advantage that it enables a student, who has not access to the original, to compare the readings of several copyists. In this connection it may be suggested that a list of such texts as have been published, translated, or discussed elsewhere than in Harper's *Corpus*, together with full references to the publications in which they are to be found, would be a most valuable addition, and would greatly facilitate the studies of all workers in this branch of Assyriological literature. The plan of Harper's work also includes the publication of all the letters of each scribe, no matter how fragmentary the text may be in individual cases. This is the only scientific plan, and Dr. Harper is to be commended for adhering to it so faithfully. A single word upon a broken tablet may be of great importance, and it is by the publication of all the material without reserve that the interests of Assyriology will best be served.

It would, of course, have been more convenient could all the letters of the same scribe have been grouped together, but to do this would have much delayed the work. In fact, until the completion of Bezold's *Catalogue* it was practically impossible to effect such an arrangement,

[1] ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS BELONGING TO THE KOUYUNJIK COLLECTIONS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By Robert Francis Harper, Ph.D., Professor of the Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago. Parts VI, VII, and VIII. Chicago: *The University of Chicago Press*; London: *Lusac & Co.* 1902.

and, after all, the prompt publication of the texts is far more useful than a rigid adherence to a hampering system. The inconvenience of having the letters of the same writer scattered through several volumes is, moreover, satisfactorily remedied by the index (No. iv) at the end of Vol. VIII, which gives full references to the whole series. In Vol. IX we are promised a complete index of all the proper names, officials, divinities, countries, peoples, and cities to be found in the preceding eight volumes. This is the more urgently needed since very few of the letters are dated, and it is only by internal evidence, especially by the mention of contemporary personages, that approximate dates can be assigned and the historical bearing of the individual texts be made to appear. The index given in the last volume of Bezold's *Catalogue* is very complete, but this work is not always accessible, and the advantage of a special index to the letters in the same series with the texts themselves is too apparent to require comment. So far, the indices in Harper's volumes contain the names of the scribes printed in cuneiform type and arranged in the order in which their letters are published, a method which certainly exhibits all the orthographic varieties, but is not particularly conducive to ready reference. Experience has shown that cuneiform is ill adapted to the purposes of an index, for which convenience of reference should be the prime consideration, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Harper will modify his intention, expressed in the preface to Part VI, and will give the general index, to be published in Part IX, in transliteration, and, of course, in strict alphabetical arrangement. The plan offers no special difficulty, since in the great majority of cases the reading of the names is perfectly clear. The orthographic varieties could be presented in syllabic transliteration under the typical forms, and the small number of doubtful cases could be relegated to a separate index where cuneiform type would be appropriate. The use of heavier type to distinguish the names of the scribes would also be useful.

Except in the initial formulæ of greeting, very few restorations have been attempted, and these few have been strictly limited to cases in which the reading is obvious. For the sound judgment exhibited in following this course Dr. Harper is entitled to all praise. The temptation to insert an ingenious restoration may be very strong, but the first duty of an editor is to reproduce the text as faithfully as possible, and this Dr. Harper has certainly done. Restorations and emendations are apt to be of a more or less conjectural nature and find their proper place in a commentary.

Of the three new volumes of the *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, Part VI is exclusively devoted to letters from which the name of the writer has been broken away, while Parts VII and VIII contain chiefly such texts as were necessary to complete the correspondence of those writers whose letters had been given in part in the preceding volumes. Bel-ibnî, the well-known general of Ašurbanipal, appears as the writer of Nos. 789–795. In one of these (No. 792, l. 5) the Elamite Ummansibir is mentioned; he must, of course, be identical with the nâgir Umman-

šibar (hitherto read Ummanšimaš) whose name occurs in K. 13 (= H. 281), l. 11. In the same letter Bel-ibnî makes the interesting statement that the Elamites are inclined to surrender Nabû-bel-šumâte, the rebel king of the Gulf district, but there would appear to be some obstacle which the mutilation of the text at this point renders obscure. Further on (rev. ll. 4 sqq.), the Assyrian general states that he proposes to visit the king, bringing with him a thousand prisoners that he has captured. No. 793 (= 83–1–18, 79) is practically a duplicate of No. 283 (= K. 597), the former being addressed to the king and the latter to the rab-šaq, but whether the Bel-ibnî who writes these two letters was the well-known personage of that name is uncertain. The initial formula of No. 793 (ana dinân šarri beli'a lullik) and the deities (Nabû and Marduk) invoked in both letters would seem to point to a different individual. No. 736, a petition to the king from the people of Kisik, complains that certain fellow citizens of the petitioners, having been carried off to Elam by Nabû-bel-šumâte and imprisoned there, had made their escape to the Gulf district, but had been seized and thrown into prison by Bel-ibnî. It may be noted that another communication from the same people (No. 210 = K. 647) also seems to contain a reference to Bel-ibnî (rev. l. 12), though the first part of his name is broken away. Although the initial lines of No. 576 (= K. 1009) are mutilated, it is evidently a communication from the elders (šebûti, obv. l. 2; rev. l. 9) of the Gulf district to the king, and contains the information that Tumman (i. e., of course, Te'umman), "brother of the king of Elam," is making endeavors to place Nabû-Salim, son of Merodach-baladan, upon his father's throne. The people decline to receive him, protesting their loyalty to their lord, Na'id-Marduk, and to their suzerain, the king of Assyria. Upon this they receive a very peremptory and threatening message which they report to the king. The king of Elam, referred to as the brother of Te'umman, must have been either Umman-aldas or Urtaku, and the letter affords an interesting glimpse into the affairs of the Gulf district and the conflict there between the interests of Elam and Assyria. The important letter of Kudurru, governor of Uruk, in reference to the rebellion of Šamaš-šum-ukîn (K. 5457 = H. 755) is given in Part VII, and the same volume contains two letters, unfortunately badly mutilated, of Sennacherib. Among the better-known writers represented in Parts VII and VIII may be mentioned Adad-šum-uçur, whose letters are models of courtly style; the astrologers Nabu'a, Balasî, and Ištar-šum-ereš; Nabû-ušabšî, governor of Uruk in the reign of Ašurbanipal; and Ištar-dûrî, who filled the office of eponym in the year 714 B. C.

The three new volumes of the *Letters* are edited with the care and skill that we have learned to expect of Dr. Harper, and their appearance must be a welcome event to every Assyriologist. The typography is, as usual, excellent.

<div align="right">CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON.</div>

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

HISTORY OF THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS.[1]

The work is, as the author intended it to be, "a compact, popular, and fairly comprehensive sketch of the history" of the Babylonians and Assyrians for all who are interested in the progress of civilization in its earliest stages. The author, a skilled teacher of history, has prepared it chiefly for the student of general history. His "references" in the back of the book are arranged under a series of headings for the purpose of directing the attention of the student to paragraphs or sections in different works bearing on the subject in order to guide him in a special investigation of important topics. The well-selected bibliography and the chronological summary, besides the effort to give the pronunciation of names, are clearly indicative of the purpose which the author had in mind. Through the excavations and decipherment of the past century such a vast amount of material for the history of these people has been amassed that it has become a difficult task to cover the subject in a work of limited size. The author in the compass of a single volume, conforming in size to the others published in the same series, has very admirably covered the ground.

In the front of the book a map of "the World of Oriental Antiquity" is to be found. While the exact locations of the cities south of Babylon are not fixed, it is now definitely known that Eridu or Abu-Shahrain must be placed on the west side of the Euphrates instead of the east.

Part I deals with the city states of Babylonia and their unification under Babylon to 200 B. C.; Part II, the rise of Assyria and its struggles with Kassite Babylonia; Part III, the ascendancy of Assyria; and Part IV, with the neo-Babylonian empire. Just why the author concluded his history of the "Babylonians" with the overthrow of Nabuna'id by Cyrus he does not say. While naturally foreign influence was greatly felt after the Achemenians began to rule, the indications are that the Babylonian people maintained their peculiar cultus for considerably more than a century afterward.

The part especially fascinating to most readers at this time is that which embraces the early period. The author seems to be one of the few who cling to the theory advanced by Halévy as regards the Sumerians. To those who believe that a non-Semitic population preceded the Semitic occupation of Babylonia, and that to the people they know as Sumerians belongs the credit for having introduced that which was so peculiarly highly developed of the fourth and fifth millennium B. C., this will be found to be a very serious defect of the first part of the book. A discussion of the question is here not in place. Let me, however, mention that among other proofs recently offered through Professor Hilprecht's investigations at Nippur, a very important one is to be found in the fact that the people that lived at Nippur prior to the recognized period of the Semitic occupation cremated their dead, traces of which

[1] A HISTORY OF THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS. By George Stephen Goodspeed, Ph.D., Professor of Ancient History in the University of Chicago. Vol. IV of "The Historical Series for Bible Students," edited by Kent and Sanders.

wholly disappear after about 4000 B. C. Recognizing this people, the standpoint from which the history of this period is written is altogether different.

The work is written in a very lucid and readable style, and, while not intended for the specialist, is a most acceptable contribution to the literature on the subject in the English language, and should have its place on the shelves of every representative library.

A. T. Clay.

The University of Pennsylvania.

WRIGHT'S CATALOGUE OF SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS.[1]

Prior to 1632, there were no Syriac manuscripts in the libraries of Cambridge. In that year the Oriental manuscripts collected by Van Erpe were given to the University, among them being ten Syriac manuscripts, and the nucleus of the University's Syriac collection was thus formed. About the beginning of the eighteenth century three manuscripts from the collection of Robert Huntington were added to these, and a little later, in 1715, two Syriac manuscripts came into the library in the collection of Bishop Moore. Of the fifteen manuscripts thus gathered, two at least had disappeared by the year 1775, so that at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were little more than a dozen Syriac manuscripts in the University library. At the end of the century the collection numbered over two hundred. This great increase was largely due to the acquisition of two considerable collections; the manuscripts gathered by the Rev. Claude Buchanan in South India, in 1806-7, and by him presented to Cambridge; and those collected in 1842-4 in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan by the Rev. George Percy Badger, for the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which were presented by the Society to the Cambridge library in 1887. Besides these important groups of manuscripts, the Cambridge Syriac collection has been frequently enriched, especially in the past thirty years, through purchases, gifts, and bequests of manuscripts.

While the majority of these Cambridge manuscripts are later than the sixteenth century, there is a fair number from the thirteenth and fifteenth, and one, containing writings of Basil of Cæsarea translated from the Greek, from the tenth or eleventh. Of individual manuscripts there is not space to speak. Of the Van Erpe manuscripts, one restored writings of Jacob-bar-Salibi and Nicolaus of Damascus, reputed to be lost; and another was among the three collated for Walton's polyglot. One of the Moore manuscripts was used by Lee in preparing his edition of the New Testament. The Buchanan manuscripts have, despite their lateness, especial significance as representing Nestorian influence in South India, whence they came. The S. P. C. K. collection was examined

[1] A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. By the late William Wright, LL.D., with an Introduction and Appendix by Stanley Arthur Cook, M.A. Cambridge: *University Press*, Vols. I and II, 1901. xxx + 1290 pp.

in 1886 by Professor Wright, and his judgment of its value was so favorable, that the Society turned the collection over to the University. Professor Wright at once set about preparing a catalogue of them and the movement which has at length resulted in the present catalogue began.   A notable acquisition was made in 1876 in a complete twelfth-century copy of the Harklensian version of the New Testament together with the Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians, of which last no Syriac form had previously been known.   The same manuscript contains at the end of John the important account of the version, from Thomas of Harkel. Add. 1970, of the eighteenth century, preserves an interesting form of the Apocalypse, a book rather rarely found in Syriac, differing from Lee's text, and purporting to have been translated from an Arabic version made from the Latin. Of the whole, about one-fourth are hymns, psalters, prayers, and liturgical books; rather more than thirty are biblical, and nearly a score are of works of Barhebraeus.

The catalogue of the S. P. C. K. manuscripts was undertaken by Professor Wright in 1887, his intention being to describe the other Syriac manuscripts in the Cambridge library in an appendix. His death in 1889 prevented the execution of this intention, but the main portion of the Catalogue, pp. 1–975, had already been prepared. From 1889 until 1900 the project seems to have slumbered. In 1900 the library syndicate entrusted to Mr. Cook the preparation of the Appendix (pp. 977–1290) in which the remaining manuscripts are more briefly described. The descriptions here and in the main part of the catalogue are concise but comprehensive, and are accompanied by full lists, in Syriac and English, of the titles contained in each manuscript, important notes and colophons being frequently reproduced in full. A series of six indices concludes the work. The use of these volumes is much facilitated by the clear and beautiful Syriac characters employed in them, and the general excellence of their mechanical execution.

When it is remembered that more than three-fourths of this great catalogue was prepared by Professor Wright between 1887 and 1889, it may occasion some surprise that the preparation of the concluding fourth, the Appendix, should have delayed the publication of the work a dozen years. This is in part explained by the losses sustained by Cambridge in the successive deaths of Professors Wright (1889), Bensly (1893), and Robertson Smith (1894), all of whom were interested in the preparation of this Catalogue.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

KEILINSCHRIFTEN UND DAS ALTE TESTAMENT.[1]

The new edition of Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* is an independent work that must be judged entirely on its own merits and not as a new form of Schrader's well-known book. It has

[1] KEILINSCHRIFTEN UND DAS ALTE TESTAMENT. Von H. Zimmern. 3. Auflage. II, Religion und Sprache. Berlin: *Reuther und Reichard,* 1902. Complete, M. 21.

nothing in common with the latter but the name, and there is no good reason why Schrader's name should have appeared at all in connection with it. The first part dealing with the historical and geographical phases is by Dr. H. Winckler, and this again is quite independent in its character from Professor Zimmern's contribution, which might just as well have been published as a separate work. His methods differ totally from that pursued by Winckler and although he aims occasionally by a footnote or a reference to establish a bond of relationship between the second part and Winckler's first part, he succeeds merely in conveying the impression that he does not agree with Winckler's deductions, commonly designated by him as "weitgehende," from the data furnished by the Old Testament or cuneiform sources.

Whether this complete departure from Schrader's method of following the subject, book by book and chapter by chapter according to the arrangement of the Old Testament collection, is an improvement is exceedingly doubtful. The general verdict of scholars is that convenience of consultation has been sacrificed in this new venture to originality, and it is more than likely that ere long there will be needed a real successor to the second edition of Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament;* and this verdict is made without in any way calling into question the merits of either Winckler's or Zimmern's work. Winckler's part is indeed a remarkably able and astute exposition of his theories of Old Testament history and even if one is not prepared to accept these theories, his pages teem with valuable suggestions and he has undoubtedly thrown unexpected light upon many a problem of Old Testament history by his learning and acute reasoning as well as by his ingenious combinations. Zimmern is less brilliant than Winckler but what he lacks in this respect he makes up in sobriety, and he comes much closer to the promise held out in the "joint" introduction to the work, to embody in it only the *ascertained* and generally accepted results, though even Zimmern at times steps far beyond these limits and gives us conjectures and possibilities instead of net results.

The plan of his work is simple and yet comprehensive. He begins with a discussion of the chief deities of the Babylonian Pantheon, presenting in each case the general traits of the god or goddess, and passes on to a consideration of the actual or possible bearings on certain Old Testament passages, or the traces of the influence of the deity in question in the Old Testament with occasional excursions into the field of the New Testament, of the Apochrypha, and Pseudographs. After the gods proper come the divine messengers, the spirits and demons, and the division ends with a valuable though incomplete discussion of foreign gods in Babylonian literature.

The second division of the book is taken up with Babylonian myths, more particularly the creation stories, the deluge tale, and portions of the Gilgamesh epic, the cult and bearings of the religious literature as well as the astronomical system, and, lastly, the views of life after death. The third division is a very brief section of only ten pages, illustrating

the relationship of the Babylonian language to the Hebrew. Professor Zimmern apologizes for the brief treatment accorded this very important section and also for the insufficient discussion of the cult, literature, and beliefs which are disposed of in about fifty pages. One cannot help regretting that over one hundred pages should have been taken up with the Pantheon, and there was also no special reason why the Gilgamash epic should have been treated at length. Much of what is said in connection with the Babylonian and Assyrian gods would be in place in a volume on the religion of Babylonia and Assyria, but would hardly be looked for in a work devoted to illustrating the bearings of Babylonian culture on the religion of the Old Testament. In view of Professor Zimmern's gratuitous and misleading remark on my own work on the religion of Babylonia and Assyria, which he reluctantly confesses to be the "best" book on the subject, I may be pardoned for noting that what he has to say about the gods adds but little to the representation of them in my own work. However, leaving this aside, the value of this portion of Professor Zimmern's work consists almost exclusively in the discussion of the bearing of those gods on the Old Testament. One cannot help feeling that at times his combinations, although generally brought forward with due reserve, are very precarious. To choose one example of many, to see in the Old Testament conception of Yahweh dwelling in heaven and surrounded by the heavenly host a trace, albeit an indirect one, of the Babylonian Anu cult, is quite unnecessary. Since Yahweh is, as is now generally held, originally a storm god whose manifestations are seen in thunder and lightning, where else could the poetic and popular fancy place his seat except in the heavens, with the prominence accorded to moon and sun worship in the early religion of the inhabitants of Palestine? Many of the parallels between the Babylonian and Hebrew conceptions do not point to borrowing on the one side or the other. Still less plausible is the supposition first voiced by Winckler and adopted by Zimmern that the figure of the king in the book of Esther is modeled upon Anu. The late date of this book in connection with the unimportant part taken by Anu in the *popular* phases of the Babylonian mythology constitute fatal objections.

There was no particular reason why Bel of Nippur should have been included in the section on the Pantheon since Zimmern admits that none of the Old Testament references to a Babylonian Bel refer to the chief deity of Nippur but to Bel-Marduk under which heading, therefore, the subject could have been disposed of. Here again the combination of the title *Shadû-Rabû* (great mountain) given to Bel with the Hebrew *Shaddai* and which Zimmern notes as "not impossible" is to be rejected as without foundation. Apart from the fact that the title is also assigned to other gods, the philological objections are formidable. Even if it be assumed that the pronunciation *Shaddai* is artificial, in order to connect it with the popular etymology, the presence of the Yôdh at the end of the word will still have to be accounted for.

When we come to such gods as Sin, Marduk, and Ishtar we reach

safer ground. These eminently popular deities are precisely of a kind to exert an influence upon the cult of peoples which came in contact with Babylonia. To be sure some of the theories recently advanced, more particularly by Hommel, as to the predominant significance of the moon cult among the early Semites, are marked by extreme extravagance and it is refreshing to note the cautious manner in which Zimmern approaches the theme (p. 365). He contents himself with the theory for which there is sufficient evidence, that traces of the Babylonian conception about Sin may be detected in Yahweh. As to the mythological element in the stories of the patriarchs in the book of Genesis he wisely postpones a consideration of the subject. Perhaps the most important part of this first division is the one devoted to Marduk. From a brief but admirable account of the character assumed by Marduk in the Babylonian religion and certain features in his cult, he passes on to the traces in Marduk to be noted in the conception formed of Yahweh; and advancing to the New Testament he finds no less than fourteen points of contact between Marduk and instances in the life of Jesus or attributes ascribed to the latter. It will be, of course, for New Testament students to pronounce the verdict on this exceedingly important part of Professor Zimmern's work, but even outsiders must be struck by some of the parallels, and it would appear that Professor Zimmern has conclusively established, at least, the general theme that mythological influences emanating ultimately from Babylonia continued to be at work in Palestine until a far later period than only a short time ago was supposed to be possible.

Coming to the chapter devoted to the cosmology of the Babylonian and Hebrew, nothing better has yet been presented on the subject than Professor Zimmern's discussion. An opportunity is presented to him here of enlarging on many of the suggestions contained in Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*. Another very valuable section is formed by the discussion of Babylonian priests and temples in which in a brief space a great deal of valuable material, particularly from the religious literature, is gathered, and it is to be exceedingly regretted that lack of space prevented Professor Zimmern from treating this important subject as fully as it deserves. He has, however, brought together sufficient evidence to make it no longer doubtful that the Hebrew ritual and many features of the Hebrew cult are due to Babylonian influence. It would have been valuable if, in connection with this question of Babylonian influence, Professor Zimmern had also directed attention to the large number of evidently intentional deviations from Babylonian methods likewise to be observed in the Pentateuchal codes. Indeed this phase of the subject of *Babel und Bibel* has been too much neglected by Assyriologists who in their anxiety to find parallels overlook intentional contrasts which are equally important. Parallel to the adaptation of Babylonian myths and traditions to specifically Hebrew beliefs and traditions, to be noted in the early chapters of Genesis, we have the intentional differentiation of the cult from foreign features

wherever such differentiation is possible. In fact the process involved
in the adoption of Babylonian ideas, Babylonian ritual, and Babylonian
laws is much more complicated than is ordinarily assumed. The cases
of actual adoption are rare in comparison with *adaptation* involving
more or less profound modifications of the original Babylonian material.
Professor Zimmern's work illustrates the justification of such a theory
and Old Testament scholars and Assyriologists alike will be glad to
acknowledge their deep obligation to him for having put together an
enormous amount of valuable material gathered in the course of many
years of study. It will be possible with this material so clearly brought
before us to take up detailed points in a much more satisfactory manner
than before and while, therefore, Professor Zimmern's work is not to be
regarded as the successor of Schrader's, which is still very useful though
antiquated in many parts, it will prepare the way, as will also Winckler's
part of the work, for a comprehensive work setting forth on the basis of
the material supplied by Winckler and Zimmern, the actual relationship
existing between the Old Testament and Babylonian culture, religion
and history. As it is my purpose to touch upon numerous points of
detail in Zimmern's work at the proper place in the forthcoming parts
of the German edition of my *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, I trust
that I may be permitted to refer to this work instead of covering the
ground again in this notice.

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THE ARAMAISMS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.[1]

Gesenius in his *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*,
Leipzig, 1815, made the first attempt to discuss in a scientific way the
influence of the Aramaic on the Hebrew language after the Exile. Since
then this question has often been ventilated, and in many monographs
Aramaisms of certain pieces of Old Testament literature were pointed
out and were used for the dating of such pieces. But no systematic
discussion of all Aramaisms in the Old Testament has ever been pub-
lished until this year, when the well-known Old Testament scholar, Pro-
fessor Kautzsch, brought out his book, which appeared as *Hallesches
Osterprogramm für 1901–1902*.

The linguistic problems which arise from a consideration of the
influence exercised by one language upon another are manifold and
interesting, but they are in most cases extremely difficult and often
almost defy solution. For several reasons this is particularly true with
regard to the Aramaisms in the Old Testament. First, though the amount
of literature preserved to us is very small, the genuine Hebrew vocabu-
lary was undoubtedly much larger than is now known to us. Hence,
in many cases, a word which does not occur in old Hebrew before

[1] DIE ARAMAISMEN IM ALTEN TESTAMENT. I. Lexikalischer Teil. Von E. Kautzsch.
Halle: *Max Niemeyer*, 1903. 8vo; v + 111 pp. M. 3.20.

the Exile, but appears suddenly later on and is at the same time well known in Aramaic, may nevertheless be genuine Hebrew. The word גֵּל, "turtle," might serve to illustrate this. Although it is not mentioned with this meaning in any of the modern Hebrew dictionaries, there is no doubt that גֵּל in Hos. 12:12 is the genuine Hebrew word for "turtle" (see Nestle in *Zeitschr. f. alttest. Wissensch.*, 1903, p. 133). Now, should it by accident have been known to occur in this sense in one of the post-exilic books, many scholars would probably have called it an Aramaism, since this word for turtle is known in Syriac (gālā), but occurs neither in Arabic nor in Ethiopic. Secondly, the close relation between Hebrew and Aramaic often renders uncertain the decision concerning the origin of a word. Thirdly, we must take into account the frequent possibilities of replacing a Hebrew word in the literature by an Aramaic expression in the process of the transmission of the manuscripts. Such cases, of course, cannot be counted as true Aramaisms, since they were not intended so by the original writer. To my mind, אֶסַּק in Psalm 139:8 belongs to this category; for in spite of the fact that the Aramaic words מִלָּה and רְבַע are used here, it seems to me much more likely that a later scribe unconsciously substituted this form, which he used in common conversation, for the Hebrew original, than that the author of the Hebrew psalm wrote such a purely Aramaic form. The fourth and most serious difficulty is this: We cannot always distinguish between the Aramaic influence on the spoken Hebrew and that on the written Hebrew; in other words, we do not always know whether the documents, in which Aramaisms are found, were written at a time when Hebrew was still spoken and when Aramaic words had become part of a living Hebrew language, or whether the writers of such documents themselves spoke mostly Aramaic and wrote Hebrew only as a literary language, most naturally intermingling it with expressions that were more familiar to them. If, as in the former case, the influence of one spoken language upon another, which is also living, is to be investigated, it does not matter whether the borrowed words are so-called "loan-words" or "foreign words," and every individual word of foreign origin deserves equal attention. This usually involves questions important to the history of civilization; and therefore an arrangement like that in Fränkel's *Aramäische Fremdwörter im Arabischen* is highly desirable. But in the second case we have mostly to deal with literary, grammatical, and lexicographical questions.

I need scarcely say that Professor Kautzsch has been well aware of these difficulties, although perhaps the fourth has not been sufficiently emphasized. With a self-restraint that might serve many others as a model, he has not attempted too much; he has not drawn any premature conclusions, nor has he concealed matters which are not yet settled, and perhaps never will be. But what he has done is to present conscientiously the whole material clearly arranged and well digested. Hence his book will be indispensable to all Old Testament students, Hebraists, and Semitists, and it will form a safe basis for exegetical work and for

literary criticism.   Let us hope that another part containing the "grammatical Aramaisms" will soon appear.

It is impossible to discuss details in a notice of this length.   I might mention, however, that of the Aramaisms in the second part of Isaiah I missed the following in Professor Kautzsch's list: בָּמַשׁ, Isa. 59:10.   In spite of its occurrence in Arabic and Ethiopic this word seems to be derived in Hebrew from the Aramaic, because the genuine Hebrew word is מַשְׁשׁ; לָּשׁוּך, Isa. 66:18, in the meaning "people;" cf. לְפֵּן in biblical Aramaic; דרך in Isa. 57:10, where, as I suggested four years ago, its meaning seems to be influenced by the Syriac ﻮﺭﺑﻰ; בֵּין Isa. 66:11, if with de Lagarde this is the correct reading for זִין.

The very important conclusion at which Professor Kautzsch arrives on p. 99, is as follows: "The influence of the Aramaic language on the Hebrew vocabulary of the Old Testament is not nearly so strong as it has heretofore been supposed to be."

                                                    ENNO LITTMANN.

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STEINSCHNEIDER'S ARABISCHE LITERATUR.[1]

A thorough criticism of a work like the one before us, which should adequately point out its special merits and possible errors, would almost presuppose the ability to write the book—a task which could be performed only by one who is a polyglot and polyhistor, and, above all, a bibliographer like the venerable author, whose equal, as bibliographer, cannot be found in the history of any literature.   It is, therefore, no modesty on my part, if I preface this review with the confession that I am not fully prepared to present a detailed criticism of the work.   I must content myself with indicating to the reader the general outline of the book, its purpose and significance.

It is, indeed, hardly correct to speak of the *purpose* of this book, for in it, as in all the works of Professor Steinschneider—and these number in the hundreds—the reader will search in vain for a purpose in the ordinary sense of the term.   The author has but one end in view, to give an objective historical presentation of his subject, free from all "apologetical or polemical coloring, and from all national or theological bias."   The reader who comes to this book in search of inspiration for some world-agitating idea, or seeks in it the solution of some "burning issue," will go away disappointed.   He must approach it with an enthusiasm of his own, bringing with him a considerable knowledge of the subject and a love for purely scientific research.   Such a reader will find himself amply rewarded.

In the introduction (pp. xii–li) to the enormous mass of material, which, as we are told in the preface, has been gathered together in the

course of almost sixty years, the author, in his precise and severely scientific style, has given, in seventeen sections, the general divisions under which the subject-matter may be arranged, and which may serve the student as a safe guide, both as to how and in what direction to use the accumulated material, so as to make it productive for further research. The vistas which are here opened up for the reader, in every direction, and the general problems of *Kulturgeschichte*, for a complete study of which the way is here paved, are of a far-reaching importance which I cannot in the limits of a short article attempt even to sketch. With the exception of the two concluding sections, in which the author speaks of the relation of his work to the works of scholars who have preceded him in this branch of science, and of the sources, arrangement, and execution of the book, each section of the introduction may be regarded as a solid foundation for a special monograph on the matter treated. To convey to the reader some notion of the problems which still wait for solution, and of the results which the author has thus far achieved and set forth, we cite here from his own analysis of his introduction the following topics—"Problem of the History of the Literature and Culture of the Jews;" "Part Played by Karaism in the Introduction of Arabic into Religious Literature;" "Beginning, Duration, and Scope of the Jewish Arabic Literature;" "Use of Arabic Among the Jews in Christian Lands;" "Character of the Arabic Among the Jews, in Speech and Script;" "Moslem Children in Jewish Schools;" "Relation of Hebrew and Arabic in the Life and Literature of the Jews;" "Importance of Arabic Literature for Hebrew Philology, Exegesis, and Poetry;" "Influence of Arabic on the Language of the Hebrew-Chaldaic Literature." I have here named only some of the most important themes dealt with. In the discussion of them the author states the conclusions, to which his long studies have led him, and thus provides the student with a definite basis for further investigation. These introductory sketches serve, therefore, not merely as an introduction to this work, but give guidance for proper study and productive activity in this field of research.

The book, as a whole, is in aim, method, and content related to the previous, well-known works of the author. The central idea of all his voluminous and extensive works has been, as the author himself says (p. xlix), to show "the relation of Jewish literature to other literatures of the Middle Ages, particularly in the department of science. In this book, however, the most important department of Jewish literature is treated for its own sake. . . . . The book offers as complete as possible a collection of the works in Arabic by authors who were Jews by birth, giving the existing prints or manuscripts of their complete works and of fragments and translations of them in any language." The authors (numbering 250) are arranged geographically and in chronological order; a brief biographical sketch of each author is given, followed by an enumeration of his works, analyses of their contents, and valuable remarks of the author. To the sketch of each writer is added a complete bibliography,

arranged under special headings, of the sources which the author has drawn upon, and also his sound estimate of their reliability and value. To the book are added seven appendices, among them one of special importance dealing with the Arabic works written by Samaritans. Six indices greatly facilitate the use of the book.

It is now superfluous to say anything more concerning the value and significance of this work. The author can justly say (p. xliv) "that, to his knowledge, he offers the first comprehensive bibliography in this department of literature with biographical notices of the authors." In conclusion we may add that as long as scholars will devote themselves to this branch of knowledge, the book before us will hold this place and be indispensable to every new investigator.

HENRY MALTER.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE,
Cincinnati.

GENERAL INDEX.

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(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

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